ANCIENT AND MEDIÆVAL INDIA.

ANCIENT AND MEDIÆVAL INDIA.

BY

MRS. MANNING.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

Wm. H. ALLEN & CO., 13, WATERLOO PLACE,

PALL MALL, S.W.

Publishers to the India Office.

1869.

LONDON: LEWIS AND SON, PRINTERS, SWAN BUILDINGS, MOORGATE STREET.

PREFACE.

MANY years have elapsed since I wrote "Life in Ancient India."[1] It is out of print, and a second edition has been called for. But so many interesting and important works have been appearing, and so much new material has become available, that merely to answer the purpose of the old book it becomes necessary to make a new one. A question here arises as to whether an unlearned book will not be superfluous where learned books confessedly abound. To this I would reply, that there are but few, whether in Great Britain or in India, who will even look at learned Oriental works, whereas a couple of volumes which gather together the results of learning, may have some chance of attention. India is vast and varied, and every kind of effort must be made before it can become familiar to the pale-faced denizens of other climes. Even where ground has once been gained, effort must be made to retain it. Easy books are wanted as stepping-stones to such as are learned and critical, and descriptions of parts in detail are wanted to supplement grand and comprehensive views. Therefore, no apology is

[1] Published by me in 1856, before I had changed the name of Speir for that of Manning.

needed for this attempt to present, on a small scale, the leading features of that great stream of Sanskrit literature which flowed on continuously from the time of the Vedic hymns until arrested by the force of Mahomedan ascendancy.

My hope and endeavour will be to stimulate a desire for greater knowledge of that wonderful and remarkable empire which so many dislike in ignorance. Let us for a moment try to realize the difference which knowledge causes. In familiar language, it may be said to illustrate the old story of "Eyes and no Eyes." A botanist goes, and sees at a glance, new vegetable forms, and rare flowers. The naturalist is no less delighted with the bright birds and grotesque insects which his practised eye detects. The artist watches with enthusiasm the peculiar splendour of the sunrise or the sunset, the grand cloud scenery, and the imposing aspect of the cities and temples, forests and rivers. So, also, the observing philosopher, the ethnologist, and the philologist, each finds ample and delightful occupation.

But having seen that some strangers from the West can enjoy themselves in India, we will reverse the picture, and look at those who go there knowing nothing and caring nothing for what belongs to the country in which they have landed. We shall probably

find such persons indulging in a state of chronic disgust, growling at heat and mosquitoes, and abusing the natives as lying, cheating *niggers*. The keen enjoyment of those first described, compared with the dissatisfaction of those whom we are now considering, is most significant.

But higher ground may be taken. Justice, it may be said, demands that rulers and teachers should rightly understand those whom they attempt to rule or teach ; and certainly men so peculiar as the inhabitants of India cannot be rightly understood without study. This truth was made obvious by the experience of some of the earliest religious teachers. Knowing nothing of the Hindu mind or the Hindu literature, and taking it for granted that whatever was heathen must be bad, the first missionaries attempted to root up wheat and tares without discrimination. The learned and conscientious were those who most felt the rudeness of such attacks, and although some who were timid might, in chameleon fashion, simulate acquiescence, and seek safety by change of colour, the more usual effect was that those whom the teacher desired to influence flatly refused to listen. In an instant they shrunk into themselves. Just so one may see a bed of the graceful sensitive plant suddenly turn stark and stiff when touched by an idler's stick. India is, in truth, a sealed book to those who approach it without sympathy.

Nothing more impressed me during the few years which I spent in Bengal, than the overbearing manner of cadets and others newly arrived from England, towards Hindus who were loved and respected by such men as the venerable Simon Nicholson, for more than sixty years the leading physician of Calcutta; Major Forbes, then Master of the Mint, was another friend from whom I constantly heard praises of Hindus. He knew their languages, and had carefully studied their habits and modes of thought in various parts of the country.

But I must not attempt a chronicle of learned eminent men who have been the friends of Hindus. Beginning with Sir William Jones, I might add Colebrooke, H. H. Wilson, and Ballantyne, but the list would be too lengthy even if it included merely those of whose opinions I myself am cognizant. I can merely point to the facts. To awaken in others the sympathy felt by these great men, familiarity with Hindu literature is indispensable, and a hope to contribute in some small measure to so great an object has been the motive for the present publication.

The subject of Buddhism is omitted in these pages, for the works which treat on that mysterious phenomenon have become too numerous to admit of their being dealt with in such small space as could be here afforded. At

the same time I might say, that in so far as my book succeeds in tracing the bases of general Hindu thought, so far it may be found, though indirectly, to account for Buddhism. It is a point not proved, but I think evidence tends to show that that religion, as originally taught in India, aimed rather at reforming, extending, and intensifying doctrines long established, than at promulgating new or antagonistic views.

Amongst the recent books which I reluctantly leave unnoticed are Mr. Fergusson's "Tree and Serpent Worship," and Mr. Talboys Wheeler's "History of India." These works bear closely on the relation of Aryan to non-Aryan races in ancient India. Mr. W. W. Hunter's "Rural Bengal," which gives histories of hill-people, is also eminently suggestive, and promises no less assistance in actual legislation than in the elucidation of past history.

With regret, also, I refrain from touching on Prof. Max Müller's eloquent rendering of Vedic hymns, now in the course of publication.

I conclude by expressing my heart-felt gratitude towards the generous friends who have assisted me in the course of my labours.

Victoria Street,
London, S.W.

ILLUSTRATIONS.

Many of these etchings are from sketches made in India by Mr. William Prinsep. The botanical subjects are by Mr. Fitch, of Kew. The Krishnas were drawn by Mr. Scharf from little bronzes in the India Office Museum. Mr. Scharf also drew the Coronation Scene, the Lion-hunt, Buddha preaching in a Temple, Persons wearing dhotis, and the Bodhisattwas, or Yoginis. These all were taken from the Ajanta frescoes, since destroyed by fire in the Crystal Palace, at Sydenham.

For the architectural illustrations, I am almost wholly indebted to Mr. Fergusson.

A few ornamental scrolls and vases are from drawings made for Colonel Tod's work on Rajasthan.

VOL. I.

VOL. II.

CONTENTS TO VOL. I.

CHAPTER I.

CHAPTER II.

CHAPTER III.

CHAPTER IV.

CHAPTER V.

CHAPTER VI.

CHAPTER VII.

CHAPTER VIII.

CHAPTER IX.

CHAPTER X.

CHAPTER XI.

CHAPTER XII.

THE BHAGAVAD-GITA.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE PURANAS.

CHAPTER XIV.

RELIGIOUS SECTS.

CHAPTER XV.

CODE OF MANU.

CHAPTER XVI.

CHAPTER XVII.

LAW SCHOOLS AND DIGESTS.

CHAPTER XVIII.

MEDICINE.

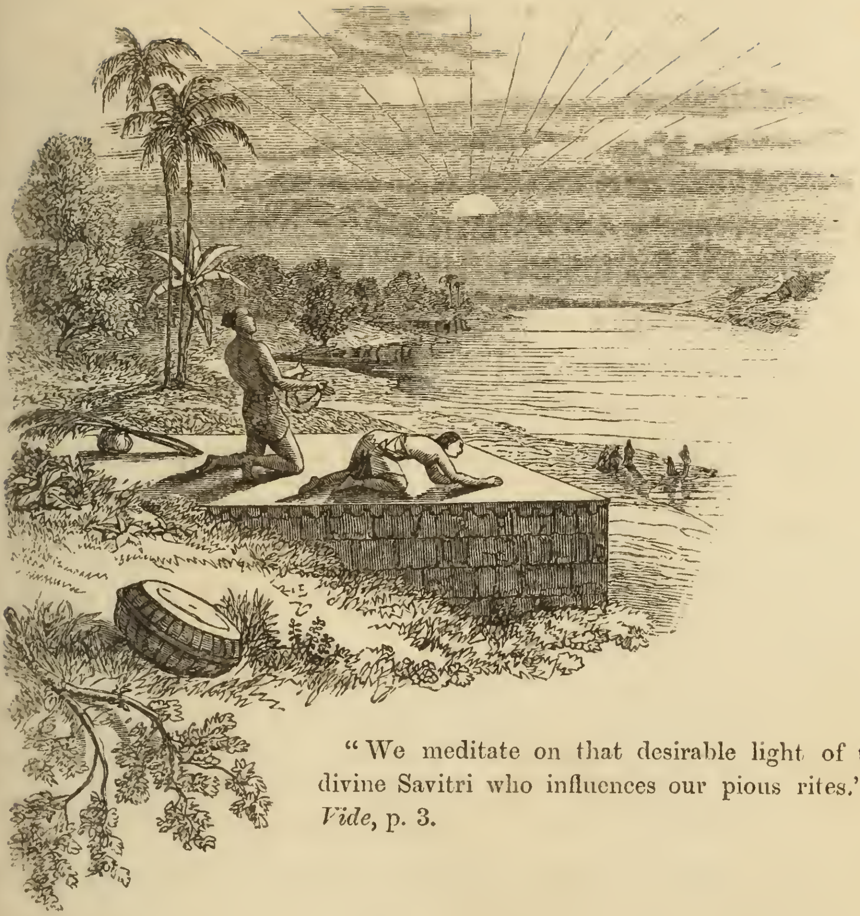
CHAPTER XIX.

ASTRONOMY, ALGEBRA, ETC.

CHAPTER XX.

CHAPTER XXI.

ARCHITECTURE.



"We meditate on that desirable light of the divine Savitri who influences our pious rites."—*Vide*, p. 3.

CHAPTER I.

Hymns of the Rig-Veda.—The Sun.—Vishnu.—Aswins.—Dawn.—Fire.—Varied Character of Agni, Fire.—Rudra.—Indra.—Winds and Storms.

The oldest existing work in Sanskrit is the Rig-Veda, which consists of prayers and hymns addressed to the grand and beautiful phenomena of nature. The date at which these prayers and hymns were composed will, probably, never be ascertained with certainty; but we may safely say, that, in their present shape, they were not collected later than about

B.C. 1200, and that they were committed to writing before the time of Pânini, the greatest grammarian of India.

The powers invoked are the Sun, the Dawn, Heaven, Earth Fire, the Atmosphere, and Elements under various aspects.

The worshippers have no fixed idea of the relative greatness of these powers, but rather their minds appear to have been pervaded by a sense of the incomprehensibility and indefiniteness of Deity; and, unable to frame an image adequate to their intuitions, they met the difficulty by shifting images. Thus we find in hymn 159, book i., heaven and earth (Dyaus and Prithivî) addressed as the parents of all other gods.

[1] "At the sacrifices I worship with offerings Heaven and Earth, the promoters of righteousness, the great, the wise, the energetic, who, having gods for their offspring, thus lavish, with the gods, the choicest blessings, in consequence of our hymn.

"With my invocations I celebrate the thought of the beneficent Father, and that mighty sovereign Power of the Mother. The prolific parents have made all creatures, and through their favours (have conferred) wide immortality on their offspring."

There are many similar passages in which heaven and earth are regarded as the parents not only of men but of the gods. But "in other places," Mr. Muir finds heaven and earth spoken of "as themselves created." They must, therefore, be referred to a class of shadowy, transitory deities, which never assumed defined or abiding forms in Hindu worship. Aditi is another of these unsubstantial deities; she is the mother of gods.

"The mother, the great, the holy Aditi, brought forth these twain (Mitra and Varuna), the mighty lords of all wealth, that they might exercise divine power."

"May Aditi defend us, may Aditi, the mother of the opulent Mitra, of Aryaman, and of the sinless Varuna, grant us protection."[2]

[1] Muir, J. R. A. S., New Series, vol. i. p. 54.

[2] Muir, J. R. A. S., New Series, vol. i. p. 65.

In one hymn Aditi is identified with the sky, in another she is equivalent to heaven and earth, and yet more often she is distinct from either heaven, earth, or sky.

Daksha again is a shadowy god. He is an Aditya, one of the sons of Aditi.

"Daksha sprang from Aditi, and Aditi from Daksha.

"At the creation, the work of Daksha, thou O Aditi, ministerest to the kings Mitra and Varuna," &c.[1]

And again in R. V. vii. 66, 2, Mitra and Varuna are celebrated as the sons of Daksha.

Mr. Muir relieves us from some of our perplexity concerning this mysterious Daksha by suggesting that possibly in some of these passages the word Daksha was used figuratively for strength. Many other deities of this description might be pointed out, but it will suffice to remark upon them incidentally. Gradually the Hindu mind attained more definite conceptions, and it is most interesting to watch the embodiment of ideas rising, as it were, from a divine nebula.

The sun appears to have been amongst the earliest objects of worship which attained a measure of personality. Never a very powerful or universal deity, he is, however, addressed with reverence, and even at the present time Hindus daily celebrate the moment of sunrise by prostrations and worship. The words they use are the well-known *Gâyatrî*,[2] which is a prayer, so-called, in the 3rd Mandala or book of the Rig-Veda.[3] The sun is in it addressed as Savitri :—

"We meditate on that desirable light of the divine Savitri, who influences our pious rites.

[1] Muir, J. R. A. S., New Series, vol. i. pp. 73, 74; R. V. x. 72, 74; x. 64, 65.

[2] The name of a certain measure of verse in the Veda, and hence the sacred verse in question is so called.

[3] A small sect, that of the Saurapâtas, or those who worship the sun-god only, still exist. They scarcely differ from the rest of the Hindus in their general observances.—Works of H. H. Wilson, vol. i. p. 266.

"Desirous of food, we solicit with praise of the divine Savitri the gift of affluence."[1]

These words are now almost the only surviving relic of direct sun-worship, but in the Rig-Veda the sun is frequently invoked, and some of the most beautiful expressions of love and reverence are addressed to the divine Savitri :—

"His coursers bear on high the divine, all-knowing Sun, that he may be seen by all (the worlds).

"(At the approach) of the all-illuminating Sun, the constellations depart with the night like thieves.

"His illuminating rays behold men in succession, like blazing fires.

"Thou, Sûrya, outstrippest all in speed; thou art visible to all; thou art the source of light; thou shinest throughout the entire firmament.

* * * * * * *

"Beholding the up-springing light above the darkness, we approach the divine Sun among the gods, the excellent light . . . . . Rising to-day, and mounting into the highest heaven, do thou, O Sun, remove the sickness of my heart and the yellowness (of my body).

"Let us transfer the yellowness (of my body) to the parrots, to the starlings, or to the Haritâla (tree).[2]

* * * * * * *

"If, Savitri, through ignorance, through pride in feeble or powerful (dependants), or through human infirmity, we have committed (offence) against thy divine person, or against gods or men, do thou on this occasion hold us to be unoffending.[3]

* * * * * * *

"The divine Savitri diffuses his light on high, dispersing the dew . . . . Divine (sun), thou proceedest with most powerful (horses), spreading thy web (of rays), and cutting down the black abode (of night); the tremulous rays of the sun throw off the darkness which is spread like a skin over the firmament.[4]

"The divine Savitri displays his banner on high, diffusing light

[1] Wilson's trans., vol. iii. p. 110; R. V. iii. 62.

[2] Ibid, vol. i. pp. 131—135; R. V. i. 50.

[3] Wilson's trans., vol. iii. p. 219; R. V. iv. 54.

[4] Ibid, vol. iii. p. 143; R. V. iv. 13.

through all worlds: contemplating (all things), the sun has filled heaven and earth and the firmament with his rays."[1]

The hymn concludes by wondering what is the power by which the sun travels, and whether any one has truly beheld the "collective pillar of heaven," which "sustains the sky."

The following hymn, in which the sun is again called Sûrya, has been translated in verse by Mr. Griffith, at present Principal of the College at Benares.

Risen in majestic blaze,
Lo! the Universe's eye,
Vast and wondrous host of rays
Shineth brightly in the sky.
Soul of all that moveth not,
Soul of all that moves below—
Lighteth he earth's gloomiest spot,
And the heavens are all a glow!

See, he followeth the Dawn
Brilliant in her path above,
As a youth by beauty drawn,
Seeks the maiden of his love!
Holy men and pious sages
Worship now the glorious Sun;
For by rites ordained for ages
Shall a good reward be won.

Look, his horses mounted high,
Good of limb, and swift, and strong,
In the forehead of the sky,
Run their course the heaven along!
Praises to his steeds be given,
Racing o'er the road of heaven!

Such the majesty and power,
Such the glory of the Sun,
When he sets at evening hour,
The worker leaves his task undone:
His steeds are loosed, and over all
Spreadeth Night her gloomy pall.

[1] Wilson's trans., vol. iii. p. 146; R. V. iv. 14.

When he rides in noon-tide glow,
Blazing in the nation's sight,
The skies his boundless glory show,
And his majesty of light;
And when he sets, his absent might
Is felt in thickening shades of night.

Hear us, O ye gods, this day!
Hear us graciously, we pray!
As the Sun his state begins,
Free us from all heinous sins!
Mitra, Varuna, Aditi!
Hear, O hear us graciously!
Powers of ocean, earth, and air,
Listen, listen to our prayer!

"His steeds are loosed," (says the poet), "and over all
Spreadeth *Night* her gloomy pall."

Night is not deified in these hymns, but often blessed, as,

"I invoke Night, who brings rest to the world."[1]

A poet named Gritsamada speaks of the traveller stopped from his journey, and the warrior restrained from combat, for "night follows," when the "function of Savitri" ceases. The hymn continues:

"She (night) enwraps the extended (world) like (a woman) weaving (a garment): the prudent man lays aside the work."[2]

* * * * * * *

"The warrior, eager for victory, ... turns back; . . . . . abandoning his half-wrought toil, the labourer returns (home). . . . . . Animals search in dry places for the watery element . . . . . . the woods are assigned to the birds.

"The ever-going Varuna grants a cool . . . . place (of rest), ... and every bird and every beast repairs to its lair, when Savitri has dispersed (all) beings in various directions."

[1] Wilson's trans., vol. i. p. 97; R. V. i. 35.
[2] Ibid, vol. ii. p. 307. R. V. ii. 38.

We might suppose, from the tone in which Savitri is addressed, that Rig-Veda hymns recognised the sun as the highest symbol of Supreme Deity; but, as we proceed, we shall find other appearances in Nature, receiving greater and much more persistent homage. The distinction is, perhaps, that the sun is always addressed with reverence, as the type of mysterious, distant power, which may be guessed at, but never comprehended, whilst other deities have an occasionally more familiar personality. Agni, for instance, is commonly fire, and Indra the firmament, with its phenomena; but Agni is also the domestic friend of man, and sometimes the fire of the sun. Again, on other occasions Indra is the chief deity, sometimes with, at other times without, personal characteristics and human qualities.

Occasionally the sun is called Vishnu in the Rig-Veda; as in the following few verses translated by Mr. Muir.

> "Vishnu strode over this (universe): in three places he planted his step: (the world, or his step, was) enveloped in his dust.
>
> "Vishnu, the unconquerable preserver, strode three steps, bearing from thence fixed observances.
>
> "Behold the acts of Vishnu, through which this fitting (or intimate) friend of Indra perceived religious ceremonies.
>
> "Sages constantly behold that highest position of Vishnu, like an eye fixed in the sky."[1]

Another poet says:

> "Pûshan, Vishnu, swift goer, make our prayers to bring us cattle as their principal fruit: make us prosperous . . . . .
>
> "May Mitra, may Varuna, may Aryaman, may Indra, may Brihaspati, may the wide-striding Vishnu, all grant us prosperity."[2]

And, again, Vishnu as the sun is said to create and uphold the worlds:

> "I declare the valorous deeds of Vishnu, who measured the mundane

[1] Muir, Orig. Sanskrit T., iv. p. 54; R. V. i. 22.
[2] Ibid, iv. p. 58; R. V. i. 90.

regions, who established the upper world, striding thrice, the wide-stepping. . . . .
. . . . . who alone sustained the triple universe, the earth, and the sky, (yea) all the worlds."[1]

We give one more instance of the manner in which Rig-Veda Hindus addressed Vishnu:

"That man never repents who, seeking (for good), brings offerings to Vishnu, the wide-stepping, who worships him with his whole heart
. . . .

"Vouchsafe to us, swiftly-moving Vishnu, thy benevolence which embraces all mankind . . . . .

"Thrice this god by his greatness has traversed this earth with its hundred lights. May Vishnu be the strongest of the strong; for awful is the name (power?) of that immoveable (being).

"This Vishnu traversed the earth to bestow it for a habitation on Manu (or man). The men who praise him are secure . . . ."[2]

The three steps are thought to have signified sun-rise, mid-day, and sun-set; but after a time this first meaning was lost, and Vishnu became a distinct deity of ever-increasing popularity.

Two other luminous deities are the Aswins. They are "sons of the sun," "grandsons of heaven," "ever young," "happy-handed," "constantly active," and remarkable for benevolence which is mingled with humour. We will give a few specimens of the tone in which they are addressed:

"Your car, Aswins, approaches, coated with gold, honey-tinted, water-shedding, laden with ambrosia, as quick as thought, as rapid as the wind.[3]

* * * * * * *

[1] Muir, Orig. Sanskrit T., iv. p. 59; R. V. i. 154.

[2] Ibid, iv. p. 75: R. V. vii. 100.

[3] Wilson's trans., vol. iii. p. 365; R. V. v. 77.

"Like two deer, Aswins, like two wild cattle on fresh pasture; like two swans alight upon the effused libation.[1]

* * * * * * *

"Whether, Aswins, you are at present far off, whether you are nigh, whether you are (straying) in many places, or whether you are in mid-air, do you, who partake of many offerings, come hither."[2]

And again:

"The praiser awakes (to glorify) the Aswins preceding the dawn . . . . . All men, Aswins, invoke you; to you they offer the sweet (soma) juice mixed with milk, as friends (give gifts to friends); the sun is in advance, (therefore come to the rite)."[3]

For some reason as yet unknown, the Aswins are represented as travelling in a triangular car.

"Come to us with your tri-columnar, triangular, three-wheeled and well-constructed car."[4]

In another hymn their car has three benches, three wheels, and is embellished with three metals.[5] Sometimes one wheel of their chariot is arrested.

"You have arrested one luminous wheel of (your) car for illumining the form (of the sun), whilst with the other you traverse the spheres (to regulate) by your power the ages of mankind."[6]

And the effect of sun-rise the same hymn expresses thus:

"When Sûrya has ascended your ever-easy-moving car, then bright-waving resplendent rays (of light) encompass you."

[1] Wilson's trans., vol. iii. p. 365; R. V. v. 78.

[2] Ibid, p. 357: R. V. v. 73.

[3] Ibid, p. 103; R. V. iii. 58. I am favoured by Professor Goldstücker with the following explanation concerning the Aswins. Their name is formed from *aswa*, meaning literally the pervader, then the quick; then the horse, which becomes the symbol of the sun; whence the sun-deities are called Aswins. They represent the transition from darkness to light, the mingling of the two, and hence are regarded as twins, according to an interpretation recorded by Yâska, in his Nirukta, the oldest known commentary on passages of the Rig-Veda. See also J. R. A. S., New Series, vol. ii. pp. 14—17, where a fuller explanation is given by Professor G.

[4] Wilson's trans., vol. i. p. 319; R. V. i. 118.

[5] Ibid, vol. ii. p. 183; R. V. i. 183.

[6] Ibid, iii. 357; R. V. v. 73.

The work in which these youthful deities, who "assume many forms," are concerned has at times a humorous aspect. Thus, they persuaded a holy man to teach them forbidden science; and when, for this offence, their instructor lost his head, the Aswins took a horse's head, and stuck it on his shoulders in place of his own. This one might feel inclined to view as simply ludicrous; but the explanation given above of Aswa, horse, as applied to the sun, shows a much deeper meaning. The man upon whom the Aswins conferred a horse's head was made, in fact, to participate in the nature of the sun-deities.

So also when the Aswins enable the lame to walk, and the blind to see; and restore an aged man to youth, "as a wheelwright repairs a worn-out car," the poet may perhaps be expressing in hyperbolic language the invigorating power of sunshine. One man they brought up from a well of water, in which he lay hidden "like a jar of buried gold;" another who was scorched by fire they relieved with snow. An emaciated cow they made to give milk, and a field of barley they caused to be sown. To king Pedu they gave a white steed ensuring victory, and from the hoof of another steed they produced a hundred jars of wine. For Divodâsa they yoked the bull and the tortoise, and carried food and treasure to his dwelling in a car. And Bhujyu, who sailed in a hundred-oared ship, and went to sea, and was nearly drowned, they brought back in vessels of their own along the bed of the ocean.[1]

Ushas,[2] the Dawn, or the first flush of day-light, is a very favourite subject with Hindu poets. "Auspicious rays are visible like showers of rain."[3] They rise up "in the east like the pillars planted at sacrifices," and then drive away evil spirits or the

[1] Wilson's trans., i. pp. 307—310; R. V. i. 116.

[2] Ushas answers precisely to the Latin Aurora and the Greek 'Ηώς. It is derived from "*ush*," burn.

[3] "Râkshasas and other evil spirits vanish with the dawn."—Wilson, note to vol. i. p. 298.

malevolent,[1] and bring health.[2] She sets open the two gates of heaven,[3] and sends her rays abroad as (a cow-herd drives) the cattle (to pasture).[4] They expand "like flowing water."[5] She comes "purple-tinted radiant leading the sun."[6] "Ushas gives back all the regions which had been swallowed up in darkness."[7] "Let the blazing fires rise up."[8] "When the sacred fire is kindled," Ushas disperses darkness. Ushas "approaches from the east; she harnesses her team of purple oxen . . . . . the (sacred) fire is kindled in every dwelling . . . . . birds rise up from their nests, and men who have to earn their bread (quit their homes)."[9] Ushas "restores the consciousness (of living beings)."[10] Ushas "like a matron awakens (her) sleeping (children)."[11] "The opulent (dawn) arouses to exertion the man bowed down in sleep,—one man to enjoyments, another to devotion, another to the acquirement of wealth."[12]

"She hath dwelt in heaven of old,
May we now her light behold!
Which dawning brightly from afar,
Stirreth up the harness'd car;
Like as merchant-folk for gain,
Send their ships across the main.

"Morning comes, the nurse of all,
Like a matron at whose call
All that dwell the house within,
Their appointed task begin."[13]

It was remarked by a writer in the "Saturday Magazine," that the expressions used in the Rig-Veda, when speaking of Saramâ, were very similar to those in which Ushas is said "to

[1] Wilson's trans., vol. i. p. 129; R. V. i. 48.
[2] Ibid, vol. ii. p. 7; R. V. i. 123.
[3] Ibid, vol. i. p. 130; R. V. i. 48.
[4] Ibid, vol. i. p. 238; R. V. i. 92.
[5] Ibid, vol. i. p. 238; R. V. i. 92.
[6] Ibid, vol. iii. p. 369; R. V. v. 80.
[7] Ibid, vol. i. p. 297; R. V. i. 113.
[8] Wilson's trans., vol. ii. p. 8; R. V. i. 123.
[9] Ibid, vol. ii. p. 10—13; R. V. i. 124.
[10] Ibid, vol. i. p. 237; R. V. i. 92.
[11] Ibid, vol. ii. p. 11; R. V. i. 124.
[12] Ibid, vol. i. p. 129; R. V. i. 113.
[13] R. T. Griffith, Specimens of Old Indian Poetry; R. V. i. 48.

cross the waters unhurt," "to lay open the ends of heaven, to produce the cows." Saramâ is asked "to wake those who worship the gods, but not to wake the Panis." R. V. i. 124, 10.

Saramâ, it says, "peers about, and runs with lightning quickness across the darkness of the sky. She is looking for something . . . . . she has found it. She has heard the lowing of the cows, and returns to her starting-place . . . . ." But this lively description of the phenomena of the world's waking after the sleep of night is quite as applicable if we identify Saramâ, not with the flush of dawn, but with the breeze which awakes[1] at sunrise.

But to return to the fire which had to be kindled when Ushas struck down darkness.[2]

The first duty of a pious Hindu was to kindle flames at dawn upon his domestic altar. Thus Ushas, the dawn, introduces us to Agni, fire, one of the best beloved of Hindu gods. When the devout "desist from slumber, they propitiate the mighty Agni."[3] The Vedic expressions of awe and wonder at the production of fire, by rubbing pieces of wood against each other, are very poetical.

"Dark is the path of thee who art bright; the light is before thee; thy moving radiance is the chief of (all luminous) bodies; when the present (worshippers) take up the germ (in the sticks of attrition) thou art speedily generated."[4]

* * * * * * *

"This the apparatus of attrition is ready . . . . . take up the stick, and churn the fire . . . . . The radiant Agni bursts forth from the

[1] That breeze of which Longfellow sings in his song called "Day-break."

"A wind came up out of the sea,
And said, O Mist, make room for me.
It hailed the ships, and cried, 'Sail on,'
Up, mariners, the night is gone."

Saramâ is the bitch of Indra, and probably a symbol of the wind.

[2] Max Müller, A. S. L. p. 551.

[3] Wilson's trans., vol. iii. p. 135; R. V. iv. 7.

[4] Ibid, vol. iii. p. 136; R. V. iv. 7.

wood like a fleet courser. . . . . . . Mortals have begotten the immortals."[1]

After they have kindled fire in the mode prescribed they say, "Agni has sat down upon the altar, let us approach on bended knees."

Although Agni is awful as divinity, and terrific as fire, he is, nevertheless, regarded as a divine guest, blessing the homes of men.

"The gods left Agni as a dear friend amongst the human races." "Agni sits in the sacrificial chamber diffusing happiness, like a benevolent man amongst mankind." "Agni diffuses happiness in a dwelling, like a son newly-born." "Men sit in his presence like sons in the dwelling of a parent."

This affectionate, domestic character, attributed to Agni, illustrates the happiness of Hindu family life, for Agni is happy with his worshippers, as a father with his sons; he resembles in purity "an irreproachable and beloved wife," and "ornaments the chamber of sacrifice, as a woman adorns a dwelling."[2]

We value all these tender and respectful allusions to women, whether exemplified by Ushas or by Agni, as tokens that women and home were highly prized in early Hindu life.

But fire on the altar is not only the beloved guest of the early Hindus, it is also the messenger which calls the gods to receive offerings and listen to petitions.

The altar flames leap up and bring down the gods to earth.

"The flames of thee who art mighty and eternal, ... touch the heavens."[3]

"Thou, Agni, art . . . . . the messenger of the gods, ... bring hither to-day the gods."[4]

[1] Wilson's trans., vol. iii. p. 34; R. V. iii. 29.

[2] Griha sing. neut. means house, and griháh', mas. pl. means "wife." Compare the German Frauenzimmer, literally, a woman's chamber, but meaning a woman.

[3] Wilson's trans., vol. i. p. 100; R. V. i. 36.

[4] Ibid.

"Thee, Agni, have gods and men in every age retained as their messenger, immortal bearer of oblations."[1]

"He, whose messenger thou art in the house"—"of him, indeed, ... people say that his offerings are good."[2]

Some of the invocations to Agni deplore sin, as in a hymn of which Kutsa is the Rishi, which begins:

"May our sin, Agni, be repented of; manifest riches to us. May our sin be repented of.

"We worship thee for pleasant fields, for good roads, and for riches. May our sin be repented of."[3]

The concluding verses are:

"Do thou, whose countenance is turned to all sides, send off our adversaries as if in a ship. May our sin be repented of.

"Do thou convey us in a ship across the sea, for our welfare. May our sin be repented of."[4]

In another hymn the worshipper says: "Why, Agni, dost thou reproach us (for our sin) to Varuna? . . . . Why repeat it to the bountiful Mitra? . . . . . Why to man-destroying Rudra? . . . . . The object of worship, the giver of the oblation? Why tell our sin to the extensive year? . . . . . . Agni, worthily worshipped, conservator, conciliated (by our offerings), protect us with thy protections; enlighten us; entirely extirpate our sin."[5]

Agni is sometimes identified with Rudra, as:

"Thou, Agni, art Rudra."[6]

"Call to your succour Agni, the terrible (*rudra*)."[7]

Or,

"Men having spread the sacrificial grass . . . . . . and placed in

[1] Max Müller, A. S. L. 550.

[2] R. V. x. 57. Max Müller, A. S. L. 550.

[3] Wilson's trans., vol. i. p. 253; R. V. i. 97.

[4] Wilson's trans., p. 254.

[5] Ibid, iii. p. 123; R. V. iv. 3.

[6] Ibid, vol. ii. p. 211; R. V. ii. 1.

[7] Muir, Orig. Sanskrit T., vol. iv. p. 261; R. V. iv. 3.

their front Agni, the bestower of food, the brilliant . . . . the terrible (*rudra*) . . . ."[1]

Mr. Muir cites these and other verses to show the place which Rudra occupies in Vedic hymns; and one feels, after going over the passages thus brought together, that the Vedic Rudra was very probably the idea out of which grew the Siva of later literature. But the Rudra of the hymns has no special vocation. It is rather a term used to express terrible power—"the source of disease and death to man and beast." And "if this view be correct," Mr. Muir continues, "the remedies of which Rudra is the dispenser may be considered as signifying little more than the cessation of his destroying agency, and the consequent restoration to health and vigour of those victims of his ill-will who had been in danger of perishing." Agni was at times *rudra,* or terrible, before Rudra had assumed a separate personality. Agni was one of the earliest Hindu deities;[2] and Agni again in many hymns is "simply described as a power of nature, as the fire such as it is seen in heaven and on earth."

We will conclude our notice of Agni with some verses from Mr. Griffith's metrical version of Hymn ii. of the first book of the Rig Veda.[3]

"Mighty Agni we invite,
Him that perfecteth the rite;
O thou messenger divine,
Agni! boundless wealth is thine.

"Agni! Agni! with this gift,
Lo! to thee the voice we lift—
Loved, O Lord of men, art thou,
God that bearest up the vow.

[1] Muir, Orig. Sanskrit T., p. 260.
[2] Ibid, p. 310.
[3] R. T. Griffith, Specimens of Old Indian Poetry.

"Thou to whom the wood gives birth,
Thou that callest gods to earth!
Call them, that we may adore them,
Sacred grass is ready for them.

"Messenger of gods art thou—
Call them, Agni! call them now;
Fain our offerings would they taste;
Agni, bid them come in haste.

"Brilliant Agni! Lo, to thee
Pour we offerings of ghee;
O for this consume our foes,
Who on demons' aid repose!"

We have now to consider a deity of very different character, the warlike Indra, who has a distinct individual character which may be called indigenous to India.

The worship of the sun and fire did not originate exclusively amongst Hindus, nor is such worship peculiar to Hindostan; but Indra personifies the atmospheric phenomena for which that country is remarkable. He is especially worshipped as the giver of storms and annual rains so essential to agricultural success. In the month of May the heat becomes intense—vegetation is dried up, crops cannot be sown, cattle droop, milk and butter become scarce. Famine or plenty wait upon the coming or the withholding of the expected rain. Anxious multitudes watch the gradual gathering of the sky as day by day the long array of clouds enlarges; but there is no rain until a rattling thunderstorm charges through their ranks, and the battered clouds are forced to let loose their impetuous showers. "This," says the Veda, "is Indra, who comes loud shouting in his car, and hurls his thunderbolt at the demon Vritra." Indra rolls up and spreads out both heaven and earth as men do a skin carpet.

Indra is sometimes invoked as Parjanya, "Sender of Rain."[1]

"I address the mighty Parjanya . . . . . him who is the thunderer, the showerer, the bountiful, who impregnates the plants with rain.

"He strikes down the trees, he destroys the *Rákshasas* . . . . ; even the innocent man flies . . . . . when Parjanya, thundering, slays the wicked.

"As a charioteer, urging his horses with his whip, brings into view the messenger (of war), so Parjanya (driving the clouds before him) makes manifest the messengers of the rain; the roaring of the lion-(like cloud) proclaims from afar that Parjanya overspreads the sky with rainy clouds.

"The winds blow strong, the lightnings flash, the plants spring up, the firmament dissolves; earth becomes (fit) for all creatures when Parjanya fertilises the soil with showers.

"Do thou, Parjanya, through whose function the earth is bowed down; through whose function hoofed cattle thrive; through whose function plants assume all kinds of forms, grant us felicity.

"Come down, Parjanya, sprinkling water by this thundering (cloud).

"Cry aloud over (the earth); thunder; impregnate the plants; traverse the sky with thy water-laden chariot, draw open the tight-fastened, downward-turned water-bag, and may the high and low places be made level.

"Raise on high the mighty sheath (of rain); pour down (its contents); let the rivers flow unimpeded to the east; saturate with water both heaven and earth, and let there be abundant beverage for the kine.

"When, Parjanya, sounding loud and thundering, thou destroyest the wicked (clouds), this whole world rejoices, and all that is upon the earth.

"Thou hast rained; now check well the rain; thou hast made the deserts capable of being crossed; thou hast given birth to plans for man's enjoyment; verily thou hast obtained laudation from the people."

This flashing of the lightning, which turned over the water-bag and gave abundant beverage for the kine, is often described

[1] Wilson's trans., vol. iii. p. 373; R. V. v. 83.

allegorically as Indra destroying the dragon, Drought. When the annual rains are due, the parched inhabitants of earth look at a cloudless sunrise with grief; they do not then praise Sûrya for "shining throughout the entire firmament." They desire morning clouds, and accuse some enemy of having hidden them in a cave. This is illustrated in the following hymn, the Rishi of which is Gâtu :

"Thou, Indra, has rent the cloud asunder; thou hast set open the flood-gates; thou hast liberated the obstructed streams ; thou hast opened the vast cloud ; and hast given vent to the showers,—having slain the Dânava.

"Thou, thunderer, (hast set free) the obstructed clouds in their seasons; thou hast invigorated the strength of the cloud : fierce Indra, destroying the mighty Ahi when slumbering (in the waters), thou hast established the reputation of thy prowess.

"Indra, by his prowess, has annihilated the weapon of that mighty beast, from whom another, more powerful, conceiving himself one and unmatched, was generated.

"The wielder of the thunderbolt, the render of the rain-cloud, has destroyed with his bolt the mighty Sushṇa, the wrath born (son) of the Dânava, the walker in darkness, the protector of the showering cloud, exhilarating himself with the food of these (living creatures).

"Thou hast discovered, Indra, by his acts, the secret, vital part of him who thought himself invulnerable, when, powerful Indra, in the exhilaration of the Soma, thou hast detected him preparing for combat in his dark abode.

"Indra, the showerer (of benefits), exhilarated by the effused juices, uplifting (his thunderbolt), has slain him enjoying the dews of the firmament, sleeping (amidst the waters), and thriving in sunless darkness.

"When Indra raised his powerful, irresistible weapon against the mighty Dânava; when he struck him with the blow of the thunderbolt, he made him the lowest of all creatures.

"The fierce Indra seized upon him, that vast, moving (Vritra), when slumbering, (after) having drunk the Soma, subduing (his foes) and enveloping (the world), and then slew him with his great weapon in battle, footless, measureless, speechless.

"Who may resist the withering might of that Indra? he, single and irresistible, carries off the riches (of the enemy): these two divine (beings, heaven and earth), proceed swiftly through fear of the strength of the quick-moving Indra.

"The divine, self-sustaining (heaven) comes to him; the moving (earth), like a loving (wife), resigns herself to Indra: when he shares all his vigour with these (his people), then, in due succession, men offer reverence to the potent Indra.

"Verily I hear of thee as chief amongst men, the protector of the good, friendly to the five classes of beings, the begotten, the renowned; may my (progeny), representing (their wishes), and uttering his praises night and day, propitiate the glorified Indra.

"I hear of thee influencing (creatures) according to the season, and giving riches to the pious; but what do thy devoted friends (obtain) who have entrusted their desires, Indra, to thee?"[1]

The imagery of Rig-Veda poetry is all formed in clouds. Clouds, tinted by sunrise, are the red and purple kine, which Bala or some other enemy hides. The cave in which the cows are hidden is a black cloud, and this black cloud which conceals the cows is also Vritra, Ahi, Sushna, the demon or dragon which acts as gaoler. And again, Indra is described of azure complexion, as if robed in the blue thunder-cloud from which the lightning is hurled at Vritra. The light-drift which scuds across the sky on the approach of a tempest, represented Indra's horses "rapid as the wind;" whilst other clouds figured as his "easy chariot," with "sleek-coated steeds." Indra is addressed as "Lord of horses," in a series of eight hymns,[2] each hymn concluding with "Lord of horses, a new hymn has been made for thee." "Lover of horses"[3] is another favourite and very characteristic appellation; for on all occasions Indra appears with horses.

Another peculiarity attached to Indra is the delight he takes

[1] Wilson's trans., vol. iii. p. 283; R. V. v. 32.

[2] Wilson's trans., vol. iii. p. 146—171; R. V. iv. 16–24.

[3] Ibid, vol. iii. p. 69; R. V. iii. 41.

in drinking Soma juice. When invoked by his mortal worshippers, he arrives quickly in his chariot, "finds food provided for his horses,[1] and large libations of Soma juice for himself."[2] Other gods partook occasionally of this beverage; but Mr. Muir points out, that for Indra, "it would appear to be an absolute necessary of life, as his mother gave it to him to drink on the very day of his birth." Many hymns allude to Indra's pleasure in these intoxicating draughts, as—

"Lord of steeds, thou art exhilarated when the sacred (Soma juice) has been imbibed by thee as by its (appropriate) vessel; for to thee, showerer (of benefits), it is exhilarating, inebriating, invigorating. . . .

"Consume, mighty one, the irreligious Dasyu, as a (wooden) vessel is burnt by fire.

"Thy inebriety is most intense; nevertheless, thy acts (for our good) are most beneficent."[3]

This hymn is by the Rishi Agastya. In another by Viswâmitra, whose inclinations were warlike, he is addressed as:

"The great Indra, the victorious in battle, the defier of foes. . . . . Verily, the earth does not contain him; neither (does the heaven), when the Soma libations exhilarate the lord of tawny steeds."[4]

And the hymn further declares, that as "waters rush to the ocean," so Indra hastens to the Soma libation, his stomach "as capacious of Soma as a lake."[5]

And again, another poet says, "that at one draught he drank thirty lakes (or cups)."[6]

This characteristic was shown, as we have observed, so soon as he existed; but to "drink at will the mountain-abiding nectar," or "acrid Soma,"[7] was not the only peculiarity of Indra

[1] Wilson's trans., vol. iii. p. 57; R. V. iii. 35.

[2] Muir, J. R. A. S., New Series, vol. i. p. 93, and Wilson's trans., vol. iii. pp. 49, 76.

[3] Wilson's trans., vol. ii. p. 169; R. V. i. 75.

[4] Wilson's trans., vol. iii. p. 59; R. V. iii. 36.

[5] Ibid, vol. iii. p. 60; R. V. iii. 36.

[6] R. V. viii. 66, 4. Muir, J. R. A. S., New Series, vol. i. p. 93.

[7] Wilson's trans., vol. iii. p. 76; R. V. iii. 48.

on the day of his birth. . . . . . "As soon as born, he sprung up of his own accord, invested with splendour, and filled both heaven and earth."[1]

And again. "As soon as he was born, the slayer of Vritra (Indra) grasped his arrow, and asked his mother, 'Who are they that are renowned as fierce warriors?"' And in another hymn he says of himself, "My father begot me (a god) without an enemy."[2]

Indra is often accompanied by Vâyu, the wind, who is described as "beautiful," "conspicuous," "most handsome in form," "rushing noisily onwards." And further; "Together with Indra, he is designated as touching the sky, swift as thought, wise, thousand-eyed. He moves in a shining car," drawn by a hundred, or even a thousand horses, "swift as thought." Vâta is another name for the god of the wind; and Vâta, or Vâyu, frequently occupy the same chariot as Indra. Mr. Muir gives us the following hymn to Vâta from the tenth book of the Rig-Veda:—

"(I celebrate) the glory of Vâta's chariot; its noise comes rending and resounding. Touching the sky, he moves onward, making all things ruddy; and he comes propelling the dust of the earth.

"The gusts of the air rush after him, and congregate in him, as women in an assembly. Sitting along with him on the same car, the god, who is king of this universe, is borne along.

"Hasting forward, by paths in the atmosphere, he never rests on any day. Friend of the waters, first-born, holy, in what place was he born? whence has he sprung?

"Soul of the gods, source of the universe, this deity moves as he lists. His sounds have been heard, but his form is not (seen): this Vâta let us worship with an oblation."[3]

The winds which accompany a tempest are called Maruts,

[1] Wilson's trans., vol. iii. p. 155; R. V. iv. 18.

[2] Muir, J. R. A. S., New Series, vol. i. p. 90.

[3] J. R. A. S., New Series, vol. i. pp. 108, 109, where Mr. Muir also points out the resemblance of the expressions in the last verse to those in St. John's Gospel, iii. 8.

said to be "like sons to Indra," and "children of the ocean." To do justice to the Hindu idea of the Maruts, we must turn again to those battles in the clouds which conquer drought. The late Mr. Stevenson gave graphic descriptions of such storms, as witnessed by him from the hills of western India:[1] the thick black clouds coursing over the distant plains, the lightning darting into them from the electric vapour above, and the torrents of rain discharged in consequence. But first come sudden blasts of wind, rushing sounds, and whirlwinds of dust; and these, say the poets, are the Maruts, the attendant allies of Indra, at "whose roaring every dwelling of earth shakes."[2]

The Maruts are often invoked by the Rig-Veda Rishis. They wonder where they come from.

> "Who knows the birth of these Maruts? . . . . . .
>
> "Who has heard them, when standing in their cars, (declare) whither they go? . . . .
>
> "I contemplate your chariots, munificent Maruts, with delight, like wandering lights in the rains."[3]

They are said to "glide along, shedding moisture through the night;" to "abide on the Parushnî river;" to "sink into the hollows of the mountain."[4]

Like birds, they fly in rows "above the vast summit of the sky."[5]

And in other passages, no less poetical, they appear as youthful warriors—

> " . . . . . borne by spotted deer, ... with weapons, war-cries, and decorations.
>
> "I hear the cracking of the whips in their hands, wonderfully inspiring (courage) in the fight.[6]

[1] Stevenson's trans. of Sâma-Veda, p. 251 and *note*.
[2] Wilson's trans., vol. i. p. 108; R. V. i. 38.
[3] Ibid, vol. iii. p. 329; R. V. v. 53.
[4] Wilson's trans., vol. iii. pp. 326, 327; R. V. v. 52.
[5] Ibid, vol. iii. p. 341; R. V. v. 59.
[6] Ibid, vol. i. p. 105; R. V. i. 37.

"Offer praise to the company of the Maruts, the self-irradiating, the precipitators of mountains; . . . . . present oblations to the assuagers of heat. . . . . .

"The Maruts (appear) radiant with lightning, ... armed with weapons of adamant. . . . . .

"Powerful Rudras! you urge on the nights and the days, the firmament and the worlds: agitators (of all things), you toss the clouds like ships.

* * * * * * *

"Lances (gleam), Maruts, upon your shoulders, anklets on your feet, golden cuirasses on your breasts, pure (waters shine) in your chariots; lightnings, blazing with fire, glow in your hands, and golden tiaras are towering on your heads."[1]

The Rig-Veda poets delight in describing the Maruts as wild spirits of the tempest; whose abode no one knows; at whose approach "earth trembles, ... as a crowded boat goes quivering through the water;" who are as "active as fire," and "as difficult to be resisted as an ox;" who, loud-shouting, "rush along on the skirts of the sounding cloud;" who place the young lightning in their car, crack their whips, roar like lions, and, blowing about the wandering clouds, sprinkle the wide, extended lands, as men sprinkle horses when heated in battle.

One hymn is addressed to "Evayâmarut, the swiftly-moving Marut." This Marut is not one of the united troop of Maruts, but appears to be sent to propitiate the favour of Vishnu and of the Maruts then attending him.

"May your hill-born (or voice-born) hymns proceed to the great Vishnu, attended by the Maruts, O Evayâmarut; and to the troop of Maruts, adorable, wearing beautiful rings, strong, worshipped by praise, to that power which delights in storm. . . . . . The wide-striding (god) strode forth from the great common abode, O Evayâmarut. . . . . .

"Hear the invocation of your worshipper, O Evayâmarut, of the same mind with the great Vishṇu."[2]

[1] Wilson's trans., vol. iii. p. 331, ff.; R. V. v. 54.

[2] Muir's Orig. Sanskrit T., iv. 70. Wilson's trans., vol. iii. 378; R. V. v. 87.

Some hymns indicate that the popularity of the Maruts was displeasing to Indra. In one he inquires, "who attracts them to his sacrifice?" and "with what praise may he propitiate (them), wandering like kites in mid-air?" In answer to which the Maruts beg, that whatever the "lord of fleet horses" has to say to them he will say "with pleasant words." Indra then explains—

"Sacred rites are mine; (holy) praises give me pleasure; libations are for me; my vigorous thunderbolt, hurled (against my foes), goes (to its mark); me do (pious worshippers) propitiate; hymns are addressed to me; these horses bear us to the presence (of those worshippers and that worship)."

The Maruts say that they are always ready to attend him, but that he (Indra) appropriates their sacrificial food. To this Indra replies:—

"Where, Maruts, has that (sacrificial) food been assigned to you, which, for the destruction of Ahi, was appropriated to me alone? for I indeed am fierce, and strong, and mighty, and have bowed down all mine enemies with death-dealing shafts."

The Maruts acknowledge that he has done much, but say that it was with their assistance.

Agastya, the poet of the hymn, concludes it, by bidding the Maruts come to the presence of their devout worshipper, who worships them with holy rites.[1]

In a subsequent hymn, of which also Agastya is the Rishi, Indra again expresses discontent. "It is not certain," he says, "what to-day or what to-morrow will yield us: who comprehends this mystery?" Agastya, in reply, says: "Why, Indra, dost thou purpose to slay us? The Maruts are thy brethren; share with them (the offering) in peace; destroy us not in enmity." Then Indra says: "Wherefore, brother Agastya, dost thou, who art

[1] Wilson's trans., vol. ii. p. 145—8; R. V. i. 165.

my friend, treat me with disregard; verily we know what is in thy mind. Thou dost not intend to give us anything."

Agastya's reply is:

"Let the priests decorate the altar; let them kindle the fire to the east;" . . . . . but he still declares "Indra along with the Maruts."[1]

Mr. Muir points to half a dozen other passages in which the Maruts are said to worship Indra.[2]

Nevertheless, Indra's greatness was assailed; for in Book viii. hymn 89, doubts are raised concerning his existence. "Present to Indra a hymn, soliciting food, a true (hymn), if he truly exists." "Indra does not exist," says some one: "who has seen him? whom shall we praise?" "I am here, worshipper," answers Indra; "behold me. I surpass all creatures in greatness."[3] . . . . . Some few doubted and some few rebelled; but Indra-worship continued to increase in importance and magnitude for centuries after the Rig-Veda period, until at length it was superseded by the worship of powers but little recognised in the early hymns.

[1] Wilson's trans., vol. ii. p 160; R. V. i. 70.

[2] J. R. A. S., New Series, vol. i. p. 113.

[3] Muir, Orig. Sans. T. vol. iii. p. 151.



"Take up this stick, ... and let us churn the fire. . . . . The radiant Agni bursts forth from . . . . the wood like a fleet courser."—R. V. iii. 29.

CHAPTER II.

Hymns addressed to Adjuncts of Sacrifice.—Symbols.—Fire produced from Wood.—Horse Sacrificial Post.—Ladle-Mortar.—Soma-Plant.—Abstract Conceptions of Deity.—Origin of Universe.—Sin.

It may be said that in our first chapter we placed the three gods, Agni, Indra, and Savitri on pedestals, grouping around them other gods seen less distinctly. This is substantially the idea which forces itself upon us whilst reading the Rig-Veda hymns. Sun, Fire, and the Firmament (or Heavens) represent distinct powers, or gods, and are invoked under various aspects, whilst the beautiful appearances of daybreak and the terrible sounds of thunderstorms are but attendant deities. Mitra, Aryaman, Vishnu, are often only synonymes for the Sun, and Heaven, and Earth,—Aditi and the Adityas are indistinct.

Of these three principal gods, Agni appears with less of regal

pomp than Indra, or the Sun; but, at the same time, one feels that Agni symbolises grander conceptions of infinitude. Agni is fire. Agni carries prayer to Heaven, invisible deity. Agni is the "progenitor of Heaven and Earth." Agni forgives sin. And this same Agni "exists as a germ in the wood, and is generated by attrition."[1] Sacred fire was procured by the same fashion of churning as that by which milk is converted into butter, and Indra is therefore invited to "partake of the effusions of the mortar, when they bind the churning-staff with a cord like reins."[2] And when, "engendered by force," the flame appeared, the priests and assistants clapped their hands, and exclaimed, "Mortals have begotten the immortal."

Rig-Veda hymns abound in worship offered to symbols—a curious instance of which is afforded by worship addressed to a horse. The horse is viewed as a symbol of the Sun; but a real horse is worshipped and also sacrificed.

In later Sanskrit literature this sacrifice, called the Aswamedha, is constantly alluded to. Its due performance, with profuse liberality to officiating priests, was supposed to secure paramount sovereignty for the royal sacrifice.[2] We will give two hymns which describe an ideal horse or a real horse idealised.[2]

In the one ascribed to the Rishi Dîrghatamas, "the victim, or horse, is considered to be the deity."[3] It runs as follows:

"May Mitra, Varuna, Aryaman, Ayu, Indra, the Lord of the Ribhus and the Maruts, not rebuke us because we shall proclaim at the sacrifice the virtues of the swift horse sprung from the gods.

"When they lead before the horse, which is decked with pure gold

[1] In an article by Mr. Muir, published in J. R. A. S., New Series, vol. i. p. 59, this arrangement is justified; for he tells us that the ancient grammarian Yâska, in his Nirukta, says:

"There are three deities according to the expounders of the Veda, viz. Agni, whose place is on the earth: Vâyu, or Indra, whose place is in the atmosphere; and Sûrya (the sun), whose place is in the sky."

[2] Wilson's trans., vol. i. p. 72; R. V. i. 28.

[3] Max Müller, A. S. L., p. 553; R. V. i. 162.

ornaments, the offering firmly grasped, the spotted goat bleats while walking onward; it goes the path beloved by Indra and Pûshan.[1]

"This goat, destined for all the gods, is led first with the quick horse, as Pûshan's share; for Tvashtri[2] himself raises to glory this pleasant offering which is brought with the horse.

"When thrice at the proper seasons men lead around the sacrificial horse which goes to the gods, Pûshan's share comes first, the goat which announces the sacrifice to the gods.

"Hotri, Adhvaryu, Avayaj, Agnimindha, Grâvagrâbha, and the wise Sanstri,[3] may you fill the streams (round the altar) with a sacrifice well prepared and well accomplished.

"They who cut the sacrificial post, and they who carry it, they who make the ring for the post of the horse, and even they who bring together what is cooked for the horse, may their work be with us.

"He came on—(my prayer has been well performed)—the bright-backed horse goes to the regions of the gods. Wise poets celebrate him, and we have won a good friend for the love of the gods.

"The halter of the swift one, the heel-ropes of the horse, the head-ropes, the girths, the bridle, and even the grass that has been put into his mouth,—may all these which belong to thee be with the gods!

"What the fly eats of the flesh, what adheres to the stick, or to the axe, or to the hands of the immolator, and his nails, may all these which belong to thee be with the gods!"

Two verses follow in the same strain, desiring that even the juice which flows from the roasted limb on the spit should be saved for the gods. "They who examine the horse when roasted, they who say 'it smells well,' &c., may their work also be with us. The ladle of the pot, the skewers, the knives, even the foot-fastening of the horse, ... may all these which belong to thee be with the gods!"

Verse 15 says: "May not the fire with smoky smell make thee hiss, may not the glowing cauldron smell and burst." And again at verse 17 an apology is made for treating the divine offering as a horse.

[1] Pûshan rides or drives a goat. This is another name for the sun.

[2] Twashtri is a divine artificer.

[3] These are the names of the classes of priests employed.

"If some one strike thee with the heel or the whip, that thou mayest lie down, and thou art snorting with all thy might, then I purify all this with my prayer."

The second of the Aswamedha hymns we give from the translation of the late Professor Wilson.[1] The Rishi is the same.

"Thy great birth, O Horse, is to be glorified, whether first springing from the firmament or from the water, inasmuch as thou hast neighed (auspiciously), for thou hast the wings of a falcon and the limbs of a deer.

"Trita harnessed the horse which was given by Yama: Indra first mounted him, and Gandharba seized his reins. Vasus, you fabricated the horse from the sun.

"Thou, horse, art Yama: thou art Aditya: thou art Trita by a mysterious act: thou art associated with Soma."

In verse 4 it is said: "Thou declarest to me, Horse, who art (one with) Varuna, that which they have called thy most excellent birth." In allusion to verse 6, Professor Max Müller writes in his "Comparative Mythology:"

"In the Veda, where the sun is addressed as a horse, the head of the horse is an expression meaning the rising sun. Thus the poet says: 'I have known through thy mind thyself when it was still far—thee the bird flying up from below the sky. I saw a head with wings proceeding on smooth and dustless paths.'"

After this recognition of the horse as the symbol of the sun, we are carried back in verse 7 to behold him "coming eagerly to receive food." And then, after alluding to "the full-haunched, slender-waisted" coursers (of the sun), which "gallop along like swans in rows," the divine horse is described with his body "made for motion;" his "mind rapid in intention as the wind;" "the hairs of his mane tossed in manifold directions."

[1] Wilson's trans., vol. ii. p. 121; R. V. i. 163.

"The swift horse approaches the place of immolation, meditating with mind intent upon the gods; the goat bound to him is led before him; after him follow the priests and the singers."

"Go (Horse) to-day rejoicing to the gods, that (the sacrifice) may yield blessings to the donor.'"

There are three hymns in which the horse is addressed as a divine horse under the name of Dadhikrâ—the straight-going, the graceful-moving, the resplendent, the rapid, the destroyer of enemies like a heroic prince.

"Whom all men, rejoicing, praise, rushing everywhere, as if down a precipice, springing with his feet like a hero eager for war, drawing a car, and going swift as the wind. . . . . . .

"Dadhikrâ has spread abroad the five classes of beings by his strength, as the sun (diffuses) the waters by his radiance; may he, the giver of hundreds and thousands, associate these praises with agreeable (rewards)."

In the second hymn the same Rishi, Vâmadeva, says:

"May Aditi, consentient with Mitra and Varuna, render him free from sin who has performed the worship of the steed Dadhikrâ, when the fire has been kindled at the opening of the dawn."

And in the third, after speaking of Dadhikrâ as true, rapid, and leaping like a grasshopper, the poet concludes thus:

"He is Hansa (the sun) dwelling in light; Vasu (the wind) dwelling in the firmament; the invoker of the gods (Agni) dwelling on the altar; the guest (of the worshipper) dwelling in the house . . . . . . born in the waters, in the rays of light, in the verity (of manifestation) in the (eastern) mountain, the truth (itself)."[1]

The sacrificial post or tree to which a victim, about to be offered, was tied, is another accessory of worship symbolised on

[1] Wilson's trans., vol. iii. pp. 195—199; R. V. iv. 38—40.

the occasion of sacrifice as itself divine. One hymn by Viswâmitra is entirely addressed to this post, literally "forest lord."

"Vanaspati, the devout anoint thee with sacred butter at the sacrifice . . . .

"Standing on the east of the kindled (fire) . . . . . keeping off our enemy at a distance, stand up for great auspiciousness.

"Be exalted, Vanaspati, upon this sacred spot of earth, being measured with careful measurement, and bestow food upon the offerer of the sacrifice.

"Well clad and hung with wreaths comes the youthful (pillar); most excellent it is as soon as generated; steadfast and wise venerators of the gods, meditating piously in their minds, raise it up.

"Born (in the forest) and beautified in the sacrifice celebrated by men, it is (again) engendered for the sanctification of the days (of sacred rites); steadfast, active, and intelligent (priests) consecrate it with intelligence, and the devout worshipper recites its praise."

It is then hoped that those posts which devout men have cut down, and which priests have fabricated, will convey the offerings to the gods, and having invoked the protection of the Adityas, heaven, earth, and the firmament, the hymn concludes thus:

"Arrayed in bright (garments) entire (in their parts), these pillars ranging in rows like swans, have come to us erected by pious sages on the east (of the fire); they proceed resplendent on the path of the gods.

"Entire in all parts and girded with rings, they appear upon the earth like the horns of horned cattle; hearing their praises by the priests: may they protect us in battles.

"Vanaspati mount up with a hundred branches, that we may mount with a thousand, thou whom the sharpened hatchet has brought for great auspiciousness."[1]

Mr. Muir calls attention to hymns in the Atharva-Veda, which ascribe divine powers even to implements used in

[1] Wilson's trans., vol. iii. p. 4; R. V. iii. 8.

sacrifice, as: "The ladle (*juhû*) has established the sky," "the ladle (*upabhrit*), the atmosphere, and the ladle (*dhruva*), the stable earth." And to an ox, which is curiously described as having an udder, and giving milk. This, Professor Aufrecht conjectures, means the kettle called *gharma*, which is a four-legged kettle used for boiling milk, and other materials used for sacrificial purposes.[1]

The soma-plant is another adjunct of sacrifice, which became itself divine, but it differs from the sacrificial horse and the post, and all other symbols; for instead of being considered divine merely whilst associated with sacrifice, the Soma became an independent deity. The intoxicating properties of the prepared soma-juice may have been the cause. They certainly recognised it as a quickener of the intellect. "Soma, like the sea," says one of their hymns, "has poured forth songs, and hymns, and thoughts."[2]

Dr. Windischmann, in his treatise on this subject, says: .... "The sound of the trickling juice is regarded as a sacred hymn. The gods drink the sacred beverage; they long for it (as it does for them); they are nourished by it, and thrown into a joyous intoxication. Indra, the Aswins, the Maruts and Agni, all perform their great deeds under its influence. The beverage is divine: it purifies, it inspires joy, it is a water of life; ..... it gives health and immortality."[3] .....

Mr. Muir has translated some verses which justify these views, as, "Soma, when drunk, impels my voice; it stimulates the ardent thought."[4] Another passage is rendered thus:—

"We've quaffed the soma bright,
And are immortal grown;
We've entered into light,
And all the gods have known.

[1] Wilson, R. V. i. 118.
[2] R. V. ix. 96.
[3] Ueber den Somacultus der Arier, p. 130; R. V. vi. 47, 3.
[4] R. V. viii. 88, 3.

What mortal now can harm,
Or foeman vex us more?
Through thee, beyond alarm,
Immortal god, we soar."[1]

In one hymn, the discovery of this "Lord of plants" is attributed to Indra, who discovered it "hidden, like the nestlings of a bird, in a rock, amidst a pile of rocks enclosed by bushes." [2]

And again in a hymn, of which the poet Gotama is the Rishi:

"Agni and Soma, the wind brought one of you from heaven; a hawk carried off the other by force from the summit."[3]

Drought as a dragon had seized the soma plant, and from his jaws it was rescued by the divine hawk.

"The swift-winged hawk which, with a wheelless car, bore the Soma, became in consequence pre-eminent over other hawks."

In other hymns the hawk is apparently identified with Indra.

"When the bird, intimidating (its guardians), carried off hence (the Soma), it was at large; flying, swift as thought, along the vast path (of the firmament). .....

"Having taken it, the hawk brought the Soma with him to a thousand and ten thousand sacrifices. ..... This being provided, ... the unbewildered (Indra) destroyed in the exhilaration of the Soma (his) bewildered foes."[4]

This is followed by another hymn, of which the Rishi is again Vâmadeva.

[1] Muir's Orig. Sanskrit T., vol. iii. p. 162, and J. R. A. S., New Series, i. 94.

[2] Wilson's trans., vol. ii. p. 32; R. V. i. 130.

[3] Wilson's trans., vol. i. p. 241; R. V. i. 93.

The story of a god in the form of a hawk having carried away the Soma from a mountain fastness, is thought to resemble the Scandinavian legends. It is told in the Edda, that Odin discovered the inebriating mead in the ice-bound caverns of the (giants). He bored his way through rocks, and corrupted the guardians of the caverns, and got possession of the coveted liquor. And then assuming the form of an eagle, he carried it off for the benefit of gods and men. In the Vedic hymns, frost is not the enemy, but drought. *See* notice of works on Folk-Lore, by Kuhn and Kelly, in Spectator, for Jan. 9th, 1864.

[4] Wilson's trans., vol. iii. p. 173; R. V. iv. 26.

"Being still in the germ, I have known all the births of these divinities in their order: a hundred bodies of iron confined me, but as a hawk I came forth with speed.

* * * * * * *

"When the hawk screamed (with exultation) on his descent from heaven, ... the archer, Krisânu, pursuing with the speed of thought, and stringing his bow, let fly an arrow against it."[1]

Amongst verses addressed to earthly objects, we observe first, a bird, supposed to be a partridge, whose cry, when coming from the south, was thought ominous of good fortune:—

"Crying repeatedly, and foretelling what will come to pass, the Kapinjala gives (due) direction to its voice, as a helmsman (guides) a boat. . . . . .

"May no kite, no eagle, kill thee; may no archer, armed with arrows, reach thee; crying repeatedly, in the region of the Pitris, be ominous of good fortune."[2] . . . . .

The next hymn, which is also by the Rishi Gritsamada, again offers praises to this bird:—

. . . . . "he utters both notes, as the chaunter of the Sâma recites the Gâyatrî and Trishtubh. . . . . .

"Thou singest, bird, like the Udgâtri chanting the Sâma; thou murmurest like the Brahmaputra at sacrifices. . . . . .

"When uttering thy cry, O bird, proclaim good fortune; when sitting silently, cherish kind thoughts towards us; when thou criest as thou art flying, let the sound be like that of a lute: so that, blessed with excellent descendants, we may worthily praise thee at this sacrifice."[3]

The feeling with which an eclipse of the sun was regarded has the same fanciful, superstitious character. This phenomenon was attributed to Swarbhânu, who was supposed to be the son of an Asura or a Dânava, two names which are in-

[1] Wilson's trans., vol. iii. p. 174; R. V. iv. 27.

[2] Wilson's trans., vol. ii. p. 316; R. V. ii. 42.

[3] Ibid, p. 317; R.V. ii. 43.

differently applied to those who are destructive or hostile. We will quote from a hymn by the Rishi Atri.[1]

"When Sûrya, the son of the Asura Swarbhânu, overspread thee with darkness, the worlds were beheld like one bewildered, knowing not his place.

"When, Indra, thou wast dissipating those illusions of Swarbhânu which were spread below the sun, then Atri, by his fourth sacred prayer, discovered the sun concealed by the darkness impeding his functions."

The Sun himself then speaks, saying to the poet:—

"Let not the violator, Atri, through hunger, swallow with fearful (darkness) me, who am thine: thou art Mitra, whose wealth is truth: do thou and the royal Varuna both protect me."

Speaking again in his character of Rishi, the poet says:—

"Then the Brahman (Atri), applying the stones together,[2] propitiating the gods with praise, and adoring them with reverence, placed the eye of Sûrya in the sky: he dispersed the delusions of Swarbhânu.

"The sun, whom the Asura Swarbhânu had enveloped with darkness, the sons of Atri subsequently recovered: no others were able (to effect his release)."

Further instances might easily be added in which we should find that the grass, the cows, and the mortar in which the Soma juice is prepared, and even the stones which express it, receive a passing testimony of loving adoration. But enough has already been cited to show that the Rishis had an excessive inclination towards symbolism and personification. Nor can this be ranked as altogether an Oriental peculiarity, for the earliest poetry of other nations is marked by the same tendencies. It is a question still unsolved whether, and, if so, to what extent, the expressions used by the Rig-Veda poets were merely passing metaphors, or even at that early period had already become

[1] Wilson's trans., vol. iii. p. 297; R. V. v. 40.

[2] For soma sacrifice.

developed in India into objects of real belief. The same doubt might apply to attempts made to identify Prometheus and Vulcan with the birth of the Vedic god Agni. One feels that the two notions are related, but cannot trace their genealogy. Other identifications again, such as that of the mythical dragons and the dragon-shaped cloud, into which Indra cast his thunderbolt, are sufficiently obvious. Vritra, the demon which imprisoned the rains, was the same as Ahi, Ahi was the same as Sushna, and Sushna was another name for drought. Thus drought was a dragon; and Professor Kuhn believes that this Vedic cloud-dragon was the original of all the dragons which abound in the sculptures, pictures, and stories of Northern Europe, including that over which St. George of England triumphed.

Indra not only hurled his thunderbolt at Ahi, but he "stole the wheel of the car of the sun," and sent that at "the malignant." "Indra, thou hast for the sake of a mortal discomfited the sun." One has been accustomed to look upon the sun as superior to Indra; but these relative positions were liable to change; and it is probable that Kutsa, for whose sake the wheel was stolen, was one of a party, or sect, who gave the highest worship to Indra as supreme. This idea of rolling about the sun as a fiery wheel is also traced to Germany.[1]

Before touching upon the more abstract conceptions of Deity, of which the early hymns afford most interesting signs, we must notice the position there given to Yama, Death. In later Sanskrit literature, Yama was regarded as God of Death, and Ruler over the Manes (disembodied spirits). But this conception was of gradual formation; and in the hymns of the Rig-Veda the word Yama seems to have implied little more than Death;

[1] *See* J. Grimm, Deutsche Mythologie, (2nd. ed.) 578, 586, where it is stated that the sun in the Edda is called a "fair or bright wheel." The relic of an annual festival is alluded to, in which a symbolic waggon wheel was set on fire, and rolled rapidly down a hill. —Kelly, European Folk-Lore, 58, 64.

as, R. V. i. 38, 5: "Let not thy worshipper go along the road of Yama." When these hymns discuss the possibilities of future life, they allude to other gods, but not to Yama. In the 10th book of the Rig-Veda a hymn occurs in which Yama is described as coming into existence in company with a twin sister named Yamî, their father being called Vivaswat, and their mother Saranyû. For the precise meaning of the words Vivaswat and Saranyû, some choice of interpretation is presented; for by one eminent scholar Vivaswat is called the "sky," by another the "light of heaven," whilst the literal meaning of the word appears to be "the expanding." We therefore adopt the suggestion made in a recent publication,[1] that Vivaswat implies the firmament "expanding" to the sight at daybreak, or, in other words, becoming *warm* at sunrise. In corroboration of which interpretation, we observe that Yama is on some occasions called the son of Gandharva, this being a word which implies the solar fire. According to the same view, Saranyû is the dark cool *air*. The warm air of morning meets the cold air of night, and the result is a double current of cold and warm united. This is Yama and his twin sister Yamî. But as currents of air caused by daybreak are of short duration, Yama is represented by the poet as disentangling himself from Yamî so soon as they are born, and going alone into a mysterious region between heaven and earth. It is probably a later conception of the Vedic period which describes this as an abode made for him by the spirits or manes, and him as the first of *mortals* who went to that world; "for in passages where these ideas are expressed, there is," says the article alluded to above, "an association between the moving air and departed life which is foreign to the oldest notions of the Vedas." It is in the 10th book of the Rig-Veda, and again in the Atharva Veda, that Yama is spoken of as the first of men who departed

[1] (Goldstücker) Chambers's Cyclopædia, x. 488.

to the celestial world—"the first who found for us the way." At this period Yama is one of the Pitris (souls of ancestors), ultimately he becomes a king, who dwells "in light," and grants "luminous abodes to the pious." But although the disembodied souls of good men are welcomed when they reach the presence of Yama, the road to his dwelling is guarded by two four-eyed, brindled terrific dogs—one dog being spotted, and the other dark—a notion which was possibly suggested by the dark and spotted effects of twilight in the "twice-four regions of the compass," athwart which the breeze of morning is supposed to rush. These watch dogs, we understand, signify that however happy future existence may be, the road of death is beset by terror. "Choose an auspicious path," "hasten past the two four-eyed brindled dogs," are words addressed to the soul of a man whose body is being burnt; and again, under similar circumstances, Yama's favour is implored for the soul entrusted to his "two four-eyed, road-guarding, man-observing watch dogs," which are further spoken of as "the two brown messengers of Yama, broad of nostril and insatiable, which wander about among men."

To place ourselves in sympathy with this beautiful myth, we must bear in mind that in India the heat and light of the sun are overpowering, and that there is little twilight either at evening or in morning. Darkness comes and goes with almost a startling rapidity; and man, who has slept during a portion of the glaring daylight, welcomes the long hours of darkness, not mainly as hours of slumber, but as hours of relief from heat and sunshine. Hindus do not, as we do, shut out the night with curtains and closed doors, but often remain in the open air, watching the faintest sign of coming light, and conscious of the earliest movements of the still night-air. A solemn feeling seems then to have awakened the idea, that the transient breeze coming forth from darkness and passing away into space, resembled death; and thus followed an impression, that death

was a power that must be propitiated by offerings. But the office of judging the dead is not assigned to Yama in the Rig-Veda.

We must now turn to those important hymns in which the "different gods" were viewed as "separate members of one soul." In a most interesting paper on the "Progress of the Vedic Religion towards Abstract Conceptions of the Deity," Mr. Muir refers to Yâska's opinion in the words above quoted. He observes, however, that Yâska wrote "at a period when reflection had long been exercised upon the contents of the hymns, and when speculation had made considerable advances." Mr. Muir then proceeds to show that such reflection had commenced even in the earlier hymns, and is indicated by addressing deity "under such new names as Viswakarman and Prajâpati (lord of all creatures), appellations which were not suggested by any limited function connected with any single department of nature, but by the more general and abstract notion of divine power operating in the production and government of the universe."

In the 81st and 82nd hymns of the 10th book of the Rig-Veda, Mr. Muir finds the word Viswakarman, which "had formerly been used as an epithet of Indra," . . . . . to have become the name of a deity, if not of *the* deity.

"Our father, who, a rishi and a priest, celebrated a sacrifice, offering up all these worlds,—he earnestly desiring substance, veiling his earliest (form), entered into later (men).

"What was the position, what, and of what kind, was the beginning, from which the all-seeing Viswakarman produced the earth, and disclosed the sky by his might?

"The one god, who has on every side eyes, on every side a face, on every side arms, on every side feet, when producing the earth, blows it forth with his arms and with his wings.

"What was the forest, what was the tree, from which they fashioned the heaven and the earth? Inquire mentally, ye sages, what that was on which he took his stand, when establishing the worlds."[1]

[1] J. R. A. S., New Series, vol. i. p. 342. Orig. Sanskrit T. vol. iv. pp. 5, 7.

In the 82nd hymn of the same book of the Rig-Veda, Viswakarman is called "wise," "pervading," "the creator, the disposer," the "One" who "dwells beyond the abode of the seven Rishis." The last verse says, "Ye know not him who produced these things; something else is within you. The chanters of hymns go about enveloped in mist, and unsatisfied with idle talk."

In the following hymn, known as the Purusha-Sûkta,[1] we find again the same idea of a Supreme God, who produced the world by offering himself in sacrifice.

"Purusha has a thousand heads, a thousand eyes, a thousand feet. On every side enveloping the earth, he overpassed (it) by a space of ten fingers.

"Purusha himself is this whole (universe), which has been and whatever shall be. He is also the lord of immortality, since (or when) by food he expands.

"Such is his greatness; and Purusha is superior to this. All existences are a quarter of him, and three-fourths of him (are) that which is immortal in the sky.

"With three quarters Purusha mounted upwards. A quarter of him was again produced here. He was then diffused everywhere over things which eat and things which do not eat.

"From him was born Virâj; and from Virâj, Purusha: when born, he extended beyond the earth, both behind and before.

"When the gods performed a sacrifice with Purusha as the oblation, the spring was its butter, the summer its fuel, and the autumn its (accompanying) offering.

"This victim, Purusha, born in the beginning, they immolated on the sacrificial grass; with him the gods, the Sâdhyas, and the Rishis sacrificed."[2]

The hymn goes on to say that Purusha, being divided, "The Brahman was his mouth; the Râjanya was made his arms; the Vaisya was his thighs; the Sûdra sprang from his feet." And having further declared that the sun, the moon, the earth, the

[1] R. V. x. 90. [2] Muir's Orig. Sanskrit T., vol. i. (2nd. ed.) p. 9.

sky, were all made from portions of Purusha, the hymn concludes thus:—

"When the gods, performing sacrifice, bound Purusha as a victim, there were seven sticks (stuck up) for it (around the fire), and thrice seven pieces of fuel were made.

"With sacrifice the gods performed the sacrifice. These were the earliest rites. These great powers have sought the sky, where are the former Sâdhyas, gods?"[1]

The most remarkable point in this Purusha-Sûkta is that, although Purusha is recognised as having a kind of personality, as Lord of immortality, and himself the universe, he is offered up in sacrifice. Mr. Muir says that the hymn was "evidently produced at a period when the ceremonial of sacrifice had become largely developed, when great virtue was supposed to reside in its proper celebration, and when a mystical meaning had come to be attached to the various materials and instruments of the ritual as well as to the different members of the victim."

The Purusha-Sûkta is also important, owing to the origin it attributes to Brahmans, Râjanyas, Vaisyas, and Sûdras; but on this point it is observed that, "in a hymn of this allegorical and mystical character, it cannot be assumed that the writer intended to represent it as a historical fact, that the four different classes sprang from different parts of Purusha's body; any more than that he desired to assert as literally true, what he has stated in verses 13 and 14, that "the moon was produced from his *mind*, the sun from his eye,"[2] &c., &c. The Rishis did not in fact aim at being historians; they were poets, striving to account for the phenomena of the universe by sublime, but contradictory, conjectures.

Before we quit this subject of sacrifice as producing the world, we must quote some verses of the 130th hymn of the 10th book of the Rig-Veda.

[1] J. R. A. S., New Series, vol. i. pp. 353—357.

[2] Muir's Orig. Sanskrit T., vol. i. (2nd. ed.) pp. 14, 15.

"The (web of) sacrifice, which is stretched on every side with threads, which is extended with one hundred (threads), the work of the gods,—these fathers who have arrived weave it; they sit where it is extended (saying): 'weave forwards, weave backwards.' The man stretches it out and spins it, the man has extended it over this sky."[1]

It is then stated that the Sâma-Veda verses were the shuttles for the woof, the Gâyatrî was the metre attendant upon Agni, each metre being devoted to a special god. "By this means men were made Rishis. . . . . Beholding, I know (or I believe I behold) with my mind, (as) an eye, those ancients who performed this sacrifice."[1]

There are some hymns in the Atharva-Veda translated by Mr. Muir, in which "The Supreme Deity appears," he says, "to be celebrated under the appellation of Skambha (or support)." In some verses he seems to be identified with Purusha, but distinct from and superior to Prajâpati, and again identified with Indra, and perhaps also with the highest Brahma who is "represented as born (or perhaps developed) from toil and *tapas*."[2] Amid this confusion of persons, it is satisfactory to refer to the derivation of the word. Professor Goldstücker, as quoted by Mr. Muir, replies to a question from the latter in these words: "The sense of *skambha* is, in my opinion, the same as that given in your 'Original Sanskrit Texts,' vol. iv. pp. 17, 18—*skambh* and *stambh* being merely phonetic varieties of the same dhâtu, and *skambha* therefore the same as *stambha*. It is the 'fulcrum,' and in the Atharva-Veda hymns, x. 7, 8, seems to mean the fulcrum of the whole world, in all its physical, religious, and other aspects. The object of the hymn being to inquire what this fulcrum is, from the answer given to the various questions, it seems to follow that it is there imagined to be the primitive Deity or the primitive Veda, the word *brahman*

[1] Muir's Orig. Sanskrit T. vol. iii. p. 175.

[2] Muir, J. R. A. S., New Series, vol. i. p. 361.

in the neuter implying both. From this *primitive* Veda, not visibly but yet really (*sat*) existing, not only all the gods, worlds, religious rites, (verses 1, 2, ff. 19 ff.) were derived, but also the existing three Vedas (verse 14) and the Atharvan were 'fashioned' (verse 20)."

For the remainder of this very important passage we must refer to Mr. Muir's article.[1]

These hymns indicate considerable advance towards recognition of unity in the "Support" of the universe. A very indefinite recognition, we must allow; for, although Skambha is the "highest divine mystery,"—"Men say that nonentity is one, the highest member of Skambha." Such expressions are not infrequent in the ancient hymns, and we believe they indicate that the poet's views and feelings about infinity were such as no existing theories could satisfy.

The following hymn was first brought into notice by Mr. Colebrooke.[2]

"Then there was no entity, nor nonentity; no world, nor sky, nor aught above it: nothing anywhere in the happiness of any one, involving or involved; nor water deep and dangerous. Death was not; nor then was immortality; nor distinction of day and night. But *that* breathed without afflation, single with (Swadhâ) her who is sustained with him. Other than him nothing existed (which) since (has been). Darkness there was; (for) this universe was enveloped with darkness, and was undistinguishable (like fluids mixed in) waters; but that mass, which was covered by the husk, was (at length) produced by the power of contemplation."

Mr. Muir gives the following translation of this hymn:[3]

"There was then neither nonentity nor entity: there was no atmo-

[1] J. R. A. S., New Series, vol. i. p. 390.

[2] Colebrooke, Misc. Essays, i. p. 33. R. V. x. 129.

[3] See Mr. Muir's Paper, entitled, "Progress of the Vedic Religion towards abstract Conceptions of the Deity."

sphere, nor sky above. What enveloped (all)? Where, in the receptacle of what, (was it contained)? Was it water, the profound abyss?

"Death was not then, nor immortality; there was no distinction of day or night. That One breathed calmly, self-supported; there was nothing different from or above it.

"In the beginning darkness existed, enveloped in darkness. All this was undistinguishable water. That One which lay void, and wrapped in nothingness, was developed by the power of fervour (*tapas*).

"Desire (kâma) first arose in It, which was the primal germ of mind; (and which) sages, searching with their intellect, have discovered in their heart to be the bond which connects entity with non-entity.

"The ray (or cord) which stretched across these (worlds), was it below or was it above? There were there impregnating powers and mighty forces, a self-supporting principle beneath, and energy aloft.

"Who knows, who here can declare, whence has sprung, whence, this creation? The gods are subsequent to the formation of this (universe); who then knows whence it arose?

"From what this creation arose, and whether (any one) made it or not,—He who in the highest heaven is its ruler, he verily knows, or (even) he does not know."

Referring to the views which ancient Hindus entertained of these ideas, we find a writer in the Satapatha Brâhmana of the White Yajur-Veda, explaining that "in the beginning this universe was, as it were, and was not, as it were. . . . . There was then neither nonentity nor entity; for mind was, as it were, neither entity nor nonentity." But it is further explained that "mind being created," wished to become manifest, and for this purpose mind performed vigorous abstraction, which was an effort so severe that mind swooned; but afterwards "mind created voice, voice created breath, breath created eye, eye created ear, ear created action (or ceremony), and action created fire." [1]

We observe the same desire to express belief in an unknown

[1] J. R. A. S., New Series, vol. i. p. 345.

infinite power in the 121st hymn of the 10th book of the Rig-Veda. The following verses are quoted from a translation by Professor Max Müller,[1] the first words being:

"In the beginning there arose the source of golden light." . . . . .

"He whose power these snowy mountains, whose power the sea proclaims, with the distant river;—He whose these regions are, as it were his two arms;—Who is the god to whom we shall offer our sacrifice?

"He through whom the sky is bright and the earth firm—He through whom the heaven was established, nay, the highest heaven—He who measured out the light in the air;—Who is the God to whom we shall offer our sacrifice?

"He to whom heaven and earth, standing firm by His will, look up, trembling inwardly—He over whom the rising sun shines forth;—Who is the God to whom we shall offer our sacrifice?

"Wherever the mighty water-clouds went, where they placed the seed and lit the fire, thence arose He who is the only life of the bright gods;—Who is the God to whom we shall offer our sacrifice?

"He who by His might looked even over the water-clouds, the clouds which gave strength and lit the sacrifice, He who is God above all gods;—Who is the God to whom we shall offer our sacrifice?"

Mr. Muir, in his later version, commences this hymn thus:

"Hiranyagarbha arose in the beginning."

And he gives a tenth and concluding verse:

"Prajâpati, no other than thou is lord over all these created things; may we obtain that, through desire of which we have invoked thee; may we become masters of riches."[2]

But the ancient Hindus did not merely make sublime enquiries touching the existence and eternity of God and the universe, but they were a people who could confess ignorance and say, "I understand not." "Mine ears are turned (to hear him), mine eyes (to behold him); this light that is placed in

[1] A. S. L. p. 569. Orig. Sanskrit T., vol. iv. pp. 14, 15.

the heart (seeks to know him). . . . . . What shall I declare him? how shall I comprehend him?"[1]

Many other passages might be cited to show their feeling of the impossibility of understanding these subjects; but yet more interesting are their confessions of sin, as:

"May our sin, Agni, be repented of."

"Thou whose countenance is turned to all sides, art our defender: may our sin be repented of. Do thou convey us in a ship across the sea for our welfare: may our sin be repented of."[2]

But the most touching confessions of weakness, sin, and sorrow are in hymns to Varuna,[3] thus translated by Prof. Max Müller:

"Let me not yet, O Varuna, enter into the house of clay; have mercy, Almighty, have mercy!

"If I go along trembling, like a cloud driven by the wind; have mercy, Almighty, have mercy!

"Through want of strength, thou strong and bright god, have I gone to the wrong shore; have mercy, Almighty, have mercy!

"Thirst came upon the worshipper, though he stood in the midst of the waters; have mercy, Almighty, have mercy!

"Whenever we men, O Varuna, commit an offence before the heavenly host; whenever we break thy law through thoughtlessness; have mercy, Almighty, have mercy!"[4]

In another hymn of this character the penitent says:

"It was not our doing, O Varuna, it was necessity, an intoxicating draught, passion, dice, thoughtlessness. The old is near to mislead the young; even sleep brings unrighteousness."[5]

[1] Wilson's trans., vol. iii. p. 397; R.V. vi. 9.

[2] Ibid, vol. i. pp. 253, 254; R. V. i. 97.

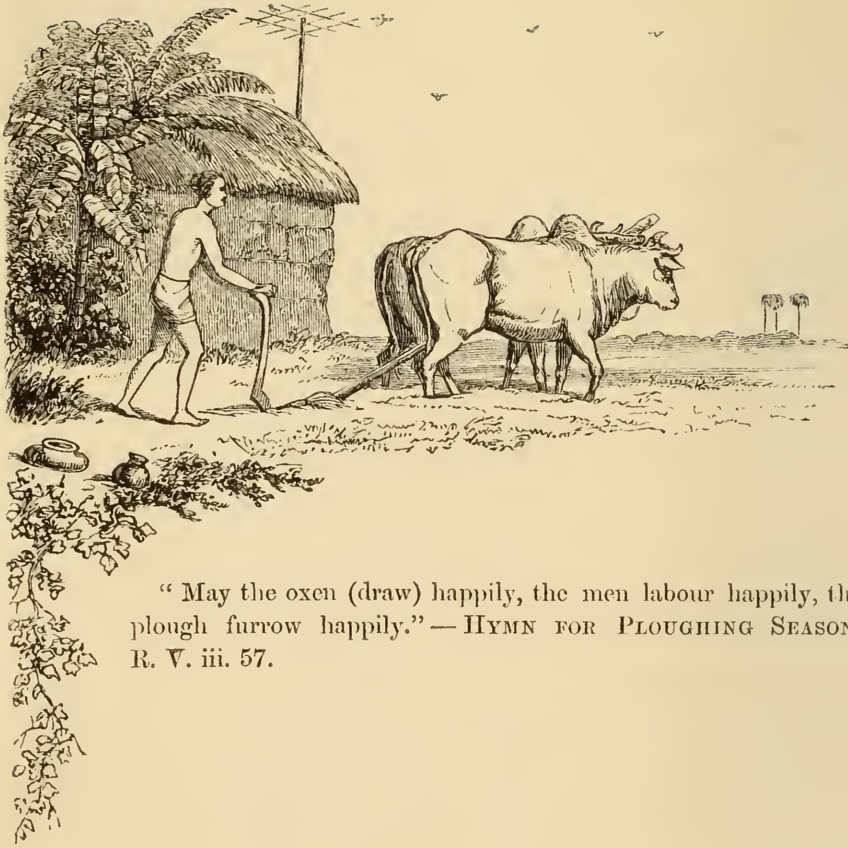
[3] Varuna is a name for the ruler over Night and Water. It is the same word as the Greek Οὐρανός, and means something which covers, as water covers the earth and night covers the heavens. High moral character is always attributed to Varuna, but it is to Varuna as a symbol of Unseen, Impersonal, Almighty power.

[4] A. S. L., p. 540; R. V. vii. 87.

[5] Ibid, p. 541; R. V. vii. 86.

Alluding to these confessions, Mr. Muir observes : "Varuna, far more than any other god, was regarded as possessing a high moral character." And "the same, or nearly the same, functions and attributes," he continues, "as are ascribed to Varuna are also attributed to him and Mitra conjointly. They uphold and rule over the earth and sky, the shining and the terrestrial regions, and place the sun in the heavens," and so forth. But the distinction is, as pointed out by Dr. Roth, that, whilst Mitra and Varuna are equally the kings of day, Varuna alone is regent of the night.[1]

[1] J. R. A. S., New Series, vol. i. p. 86.



"May the oxen (draw) happily, the men labour happily, the plough furrow happily."—HYMN FOR PLOUGHING SEASON, R. V. iii. 57.

CHAPTER III.

Locality of the Rig-Veda Hindus.—Country of the Seven Rivers.—Saraswatî to the East.—River Kophen to the West.—Sea unknown.—Country wild.—Lions, Wolves, Elephants.—Woods cleared by Fire.—Agriculture.—Hymn for Season of ploughing.—Metals, Money, Gambling.—War.—Dark-complexioned Enemies.—Conquered or amalgamated.

VEDIC hymns have been giving us the religious thought and poetic expression of the most ancient period of Hinduism, and, at the same time, have been leading us on to inquiries where it was that this "nation's life" commenced. To such inquiry the hymns themselves make a reply, by pointing to the number and importance of their rivers. Indra, they say,

"Dug with the thunderbolt the beds of the rivers, and sent them forth by long continuous paths."

"By sacrifice the divine rivers, immortal, unobstructed, continue perpetually to flow with sweet waters, like a horse that is being urged in his speed."[1]

Or a libation used in sacrifice is said to

. . . . . "fall copious, swift as the wind, and rapid as the waters of a river down a declivity, breaking through the confining banks, and hurrying on with their waves, like a high spirited steed."[2]

Rig-Veda poets delight not only in the force, but also in the number of the rivers by which they are surrounded. Two or more rivers are continually invoked. Indra is praised because "he has replenished the four rivers of sweet water, spread over the surface of the earth."[3] And on another occasion "fear entered into the heart of Indra," and he traversed *ninety and nine* streams like a (swift) hawk."[4] The more usual language of the Rig-Veda is that Indra sent forth *seven* rivers.

"Indra . . . . . made the waters flow for man; . . . . . he has sent forth the seven rivers."[5]

"Indra . . . . . thou becamest (furious) like a horse's tail, thou hast rescued the kine; . . . . . thou hast let loose the seven rivers."[6]

These "seven great rivers" are supposed to have "augmented in might" the radiant god Agni "as soon as he was born."

"The seven eternal, ever-youthful rivers, sprung from the same source, received Agni as their common embryo."[7]

Another poet says,

"All (sacrificial) viands concentrate in Agni, as the seven great rivers flow into the ocean."[8]

[1] Wilson's trans., vol. iii. p. 124; R. V. iv. 3.
[2] Ibid, p. 229; R. V. iv. 58.
[3] Ibid, vol. i. p. 168; R. V. i. 62.
[4] Ibid, vol. i. pp. 88, 89; R. V. i. 32.
[5] Wilson's trans., vol. iii. p. 175; R. V. iv. 28.
[6] Ibid, vol. i. p. 87; R. V. i. 32.
[7] Ibid, vol. ii. p. 320; R. V. iii. 1.
[8] Ibid, vol. i. p. 189; R. V. i. 71.

These and similar passages have long been accepted as signs that the Rig-Veda Hindus must have dwelt in the country of the seven rivers, a district described in Sanskrit literature as the Sapta Sindhu; but it is to M. Vivien de Saint-Martin that we are indebted for a more definite and accurate knowledge of Rig-Veda geography.[1] M. St. Martin has devoted much time and attention to his treatise on this subject, feeling that it was the geography of the hymns which gave them real historic value, and that by an inquiry of this nature alone it was possible to fix the site of the Hindus during the Rig-Veda period, and to trace their progress from the Indus to the Ganges. He finds in M. Langlois's translation of the Rig-Veda a hymn addressed especially to rivers, which he believes to be amongst the later compositions of the Rig-Veda period. Seventeen rivers are there separately invoked, the chief of which he identifies with the rivers of the Punjab. The inspiring subject of the hymn is the grandeur of Sindhu (or the Indus). Sindhu descends from the hills with the sound of thunder. Other rivers hasten on to bring tribute to the great Sindhu, who marches grandly as a mighty monarch between the extended wings of his army. But the poet is dwelling, apparently, in the eastern quarter of the Rig-Veda territory, and he has seen, or has, at least, heard of the Ganges and the Jumna. The hymn commences, "O Gangâ, Yamunâ, Saraswatî."[2] M. St.-Martin observes that only on one other occasion is the Ganges mentioned in the hymns; the Jumna is better known, being nearer to the Indus, but is comparatively unimportant, whereas the Saraswatî, which is the third river of the invocation, "belongs completely to the historic theatre" of the period. The Saraswatî is worshipped as a protecting barrier between Hindus and eastern enemies.

[1] See his Etude sur la Géographie et les populations primitives du Nord-Ouest de l'Inde, d'après les Hymns Védiques. Paris, 1860.

[2] Ibid, p. 12.

"The Saraswatî is the most beautiful, the most amiable, the most honoured among the seven sisters.[1]

"The waves of the Saraswatî flow for our protection, she is for us like a town of iron.[2]

"Saraswatî, do thou protect us; associated with the Maruts, and firm (of purpose), overcome our foes, whilst Indra slays the chief of the Sandikas.[3]

"May Indra be most prompt to come nigh for our protection, and Saraswatî dwelling with (tributary) rivers."[4]

And again in the sixth book of the Rig-Veda from which we have just quoted, the Rishi Bharadwâja addresses a whole hymn to the Saraswatî. As a goddess, but still a river, she is thus described:[5]

"With impetuous and mighty waves she breaks down the precipices of the mountains, like a digger for the lotus fibres; we adore for our protection, with praises and with sacred rites, Saraswatî, the underminer of both her banks.

"Destroy, Saraswatî, the revilers of the gods, the offspring of the universal deluder, Brisaya; giver of sustenance, thou hast acquired for men the lands (seized by the Asuras), and hast showered water upon them.

"May the fierce Saraswatî, riding in a golden chariot, the destructress of enemies, be pleased by our earnest laudation.

"May Saraswatî, who has seven sisters, ...

"May Saraswatî, filling (with radiance) the vast expanse of earth and heaven, defend us from the reviler."

In conclusion, Saraswatî, "who is the most impetuous of all streams," is entreated not to overwhelm the worshippers "with (excess of) water."

At a later period, the Saraswatî attained a reputation for such sanctity, that holy hermitages, or associations of ascetics were established on its banks, and its neighbourhood was resorted to

[1] St.-Martin, Géographie, p. 15.
[2] Ibid, p. 16.
[3] Hymn by Gritsamada, Wilson's trans., vol. ii. p. 284; R. V. ii. 30.
[4] Hymn by Rijiswan, Wilson's trans., vol. iii. p. 492; R. V. vi. 52.
[5] Wilson's trans., vol. iii. p. 504 ff.; R. V. vi. 61.

as a place for solemn sacrifice. Even at the present time the river retains its reputation, and is regarded with peculiar veneration[1] by those who dwell in its immediate vicinity.

At a later period the code of Manu declares the country enclosed between the Saraswatî and the Drishadwatî[2] to be a holy territory fitted for the abode of Brahmans.

Again in the Rig-Veda we read :

"Do thou, Agni, shine on the frequented (banks) of the Drishadwatî, Apayâ, and Saraswatî rivers."[3]

The Drishadwatî and the Apayâ are not, however, noticed in the hymn to rivers which passes from the Saraswatî to the Satadrû or Sutledge :

"O Gangâ, Yamunâ, Saraswatî, Satadrû, with the Parushnî, listen to my hymn."

The Satadrû, or Sutledge, is the largest of the many affluents of the Indus. The Beas runs into it near Ferozepore, and the hymns allude in an interesting manner to their confluence. The Sanskrit name for Beas is Vipâsâ, literally, "unloosed," or "unfettered." M. St.-Martin considers the Parushnî in the hymn to be the Vipâsâ under another name, the word Parushnî, signifying "cloud," being used probably to describe the mist and spray with which this river was seen to rush along. The Marudvriddhâ, which follows, is a name said not to appear in any other passage of the Rig-Veda. It is figured in Kiepert's Map, published with Lassen's Ind. Alt., vol. ii. The word signifies "increased by the winds," and it is identified by M. St.-Martin with the Ravi. Still proceeding westward, we come to the Akesines and the Vitastâ, affluents of the Ravi. The Akesines is now called the Chenab; but in the time of Alexander the Great, as in that of the hymn to rivers, it bore the name

[1] St.-Martin, p. 19.
[2] Manu, ii. 17.
[3] Wilson's trans., vol. iii. p. 25; R. V. iii. 23.

Akesines, or Black. The Vitastâ is now known as the Behat, the Hyphasis of Alexander's geographers.

On crossing the Vitastâ, or Behat, M. St.-Martin observes, that we quit the territory known as the Punjab, and enter a country with which historians and travellers are much less familiar. This extreme north-western district was celebrated in the ancient period of India for sacred ponds (or tanks) and is called, on some occasions, Rishika, or country of Rishis.

We need not here follow M. St.-Martin in the identification of the last six or eight of the rivers which the hymn invokes, but they are expressly named as joining the Indus:

> "O Indus, thou at first minglest thy rapid waters with those of the Trishtamâ, of the Rasâ, of the Svetî, of the Kubhâ, thou carryest with thee on the same chariot the Gomatî and the Krumu."[1]

The Kubhâ is probably the same as the Kophen of the Greeks, and the Greek Kophen undoubtedly indicated the Kabul river. Rasâ means originally "juice," "water," and this and the other rivers here mentioned all appear to have arisen in the mountains above Kabul.

This description of a country in which one great river bursts forth with a sound of thunder, and runs its course attended or accompanied by six or seven other rivers, and their minor affluents and branches, applies most accurately to the Punjab. Into this country of many waters the Hindus of the Rig-Veda had migrated. They entered from the west. They saw the Indus already become a great river from its confluence with the Kophen, and they called it Sindhu (Indus) River. They crossed in succession, 1st, the Jelum (Vitastâ); 2nd, the Chenab (Akesines); 3rd, the Ravi (Marudvriddhâ) the river of Lahore; 4th, the Beas (Vipâsâ); 5th, they recognised the junction of the Beas with the larger Sutlej; and 6th, they arrived at the

[1] St.-Martin, p. 13.

Saraswatî, which they accepted as a protecting boundary. This was the "Iron Gate[1] between Nishâdas," and probably in ancient days the Saraswatî may not have been the insignificant stream it is at present.[2] M. St.-Martin finds traces of old cities in what is now a desert, and he conjectures that by burning down forests, and depriving the land of moisture, the Hindus themselves changed fertile soil into sand.

The country extending from the Saraswatî in the east to the river Kophen or Kabul in the west, may be accepted, therefore, as the geographical area over which the Hindus ranged during the period of the Rig-Veda. To the north they were bounded by the Himalaya and lower ranges of mountains; and to the south the hymns have been thought to lead us to the sea. Poets continually declare that "the rivers rush to the ocean;" that the "winds toss the clouds as the ocean tosses ships;" that "merchants desirous of gain crowd the ocean with their ships." But M. St.-Martin does not believe that Hindus had reached the sea at so early a period. The Samudra, or great water into which the rivers rushed, was, he believes, the Indus swollen to the dimensions which it acquires in Scinde. He refers to Lieut. Pottinger, in whose "Travels" we find the following passage, describing the Indus, which "varies its course, between south and south-west, to the fortress of Attock, in north latitude 33° 55′. To the northward of that place it is distinguished by the title of Aboo Seen, or Father River, and there it is usually

[1] Max Müller, Letter on the Classification of the Turanian Languages, p. 170.

The names of these rivers are spelt differently in different books. They are thus enumerated in 'Beloochistan and Sinde' by Lieut. Pottinger:

"The five rivers of the Punjab, passing from west to east, are the Behat or Chelum, anciently Hydaspes. The Chunaub, or Jenaub, anciently Akesines. The Ravee, or ancient Hydrastes. These three unite about 70 miles north-east of Mooltan, and take the name of the centre one, or Chenab. The fourth river is the Beeas, and the fifth the Sutledge. These two, when united, form the Hyphasis of ancient geography. They are sometimes known by the name of the Sutledge, but most frequently now-a-days called the Gurru or Gurrah. They run into the Chunaub, in latitude 29° 10′ north, longitude 71° 28′ east, and the whole receive the title of 'Punjnud,' or 'five streams,' until they enter the Indus, as stated in the text."—Chap. x. p. 356, *note.*

[2] St.-Martin, p. 22.

called the Roodé Attock, or river of Attock, by which name it is known until joined by the Punjnud, or five streams, that water the provinces within the Punjab. Here it may be said to enter Sinde; and, accordingly, it seems to be thenceforth exclusively spoken of as Duryae Sinde . . . . . Sea of Sinde."—*Travels, Beloochistan and Sinde,* page 356.[1]

This country, intersected by many rivers, appears in the Rig-Veda to have been infested by wolves and other wild beasts. A man who had fallen into a well cries out, "Sorrows assail me, as a wolf falls upon a thirsty deer." Or the Rishi Kutsa says, "the rays of the sun . . . . . drive back the wolf crossing the great waters." And again, still haunted by dread of wolves, the same poet says :—

> "Once, a tawny wolf beheld me faring on my way, and having seen me, rushed upon me (rearing), as a carpenter whose back aches (with stooping, stands erect from his work)."[2]

The prowess of Vishnu is such, that "he is like a fearful, ravenous, mountain-haunting, wild beast." The word used is supposed to mean a lion.[3] "As hunters chase a lion in a forest,"[4] occurs in a hymn by the Rishi Paura, and similar expressions are not rare.

Peacocks, parrots, quails and partridges, inhabited the woods; elephants trampled down[5] the forests; and, as in North America, fire made for them a path through blackened woods.

Of Agni, they say :—

[1] A similar description is given by Mountstuart Elphinstone :—

"The Jelum joins the Chenab about 50 miles above Mooltan. About 30 miles lower down these joint streams receive the Ravi. At Sheeneebukree they are joined by the Gharra, or joint-streams of the Beeas and Sutledge. From this point to Mittenda Kot, where they fall into the Indus, these five streams take the name of Punjnud. The Indus and Punjnud run nearly parallel to each other, the distance across being only $10\frac{1}{2}$ miles. The whole of this space is one complete sheet of water in the rains and hot season, and appears as one river."—*Appendix to Mountstuart Elphinstone's 'Kingdom of Caubul,' vol. ii., Appendix D., from Lieut. Macartney, p.* 477.

[2] Wilson's trans., vol. i. p. 274; R. V. i. 105.

[3] Ibid, vol. ii. p. 94; R. V. i. 154.

[4] Ibid, vol. iii. p. 360; R. V. v. 74.

[5] Ibid, vol. i. p. 174; R. V. i. 64.

"Who shines amidst the forests as if satisfying himself (with food); who (rushes along) like water down a declivity, and thunders like a chariot (of war); dark-pathed, consuming yet delightful, he is regarded like the sky, smiling with constellations.

"He who is in many places; who spreads over the whole earth, like an animal without a herdsman, that goes according to its own will; Agni, the bright-shining, consuming the dry bushes, by whom the pain of blackness (is inflicted on the trees), entirely drinks up their moisture."[1]

And thus, as M. St.-Martin believes, fire slowly dried up the country, and caused the great sandy deserts of Sugdh and Marwar, in which the Saraswatî became buried.

Praises to Agni, "whose pure and spreading flame blazes in the forest," are very frequent. He is called "feeder upon trees," when "easily thinning the woods," his flames spread over the earth, he "glides along unarrested," "rapid in movement as a fast-flying thief."[2]

Agni shears the hair of the earth. The wind makes manifest Agni, sporting with the ashes of the forest. The forests are enwrapped in "a banner of smoke," and "the birds are terrified;" but when the flames have done their work, the wood is "easy of access." Penetrating thus through tangled forests, we find them amongst "mountains, whose tresses are trees," inhabited by graceful spotted deer," and singing hymns in favour of agriculture.

"O beautiful Aswins, sowing barley with the plough, drawing forth food for man, and sweeping away the Dasyu with the thunderbolt, ye have created great light for the Arya."[3]

Arya means themselves (the Hindus); whilst Dasyu, literally thief or robber, is one of their names for the people who spoiled their crops, and whom they ultimately conquered. Barley, we observe, was sown with the plough; and Professor Lassen gives it

[1] Wilson's trans., vol. ii. p. 221; R. V. ii. 4.

[2] Ibid, vol. iii. p. 400; R. V. vi. 12.

[3] Muir's Orig. Sanskrit T., vol. ii. p. 375.

as his opinion, that as the word for plough, in western languages, is not derived from Zend and Sanskrit, we may infer that these nations separated before ploughs were much known.[1] At all events, the Hindus of the Rig-Veda could plough; and they have preserved a hymn to be used at the commencement of the ploughing season.

"May the heavens, the waters, the firmament, be kind to us; may the lord of the field be gracious to us: let us, undeterred (by foes), have recourse to him.

"May the oxen (draw) happily, the men labour happily; . . . . . may the traces bind happily; wield the goad happily."[2]

Other hymns speak of measuring "fields"[3] with a rod, and carrying home produce in carts.

The Sisu (Dalbergia Sisu), now known as one of the chief timber trees of India, is used for the construction of cars.[4]

"Fix firmly the substance of the *khayar* (axle), give solidity to the sisu (floor) of the car."

Carpenters, or what we should call coach-builders, were even more important to these early Hindus than they are to us; and a well-built car is invoked as a divine protection.

"(Chariot made of the) forest-lord, be strong of fabric; be our friend, be our protector, and be manned by warriors: thou art girt with cow-hides." . . . . .

"Worship with oblations the chariot constructed of the substance of heaven and earth, the extracted essence of the forest-lords; . . . . . the encompassed with the cow-hide."[5]

In these cars they appear to have been continually travelling. Road-making is alluded to, and also resting-places on the road, at which refreshments were in readiness: at least so thought

[1] Ind. Alt., vol. i. p. 964 (2nd ed.).
[2] Wilson's trans., vol. iii. p. 224; R. V. iv. 57.
[3] Ibid, vol. i. p. 284; R. V. i. 110.
[4] Wilson's trans., vol. iii. p. 88; R. V. iii. 53.
[5] Ibid, vol. iii. p. 475; R. V. vi. 47.

the late Professor Wilson. The Maruts, or winds, are said to have such resting-places provided for them amongst the clouds; and as "Prapathas or Choltries were not likely to be pure mythological inventions, those for the Maruts must have had their prototypes on earth."

"Maruts, all good things are in your cars; on your shoulders abides emulous strength; at your resting places on the road refreshments (are ready.")[1]

Metals are continually mentioned in the Rig-Veda, where a poet praises Indra as eagerly "as a carpenter bends the pliant metal round the wheel;" and when the foot of Vispalâ, wife of Khela, "had been cut off like the wing of a bird, in an engagement by night," the Aswins "gave her an iron leg that she might walk; the hidden treasure (of the enemy being the object of the conflict)."[2] Of arms and ornaments made of metal, we have already had some brilliant descriptions. Metal money would also appear to have been in use, *nishkas* of gold being mentioned.

"I, Kakshîvat, unhesitatingly accepted a hundred nishkas."[3]

Their riches they "hid in a chest, a hill, or a well, as is still the custom in many parts of India." Ten lacs of rupees, belonging to the Peshwa (£100,000), were found built into the side of a well, when the English took possession of Poonah.[4] And within the last few years we read, that the late Queen of Oude prepared a secret place, under the lake which washed the palace walls, wherein to conceal her money, in the event of the English taking military possession of the country.

[1] Wilson's trans., vol. ii. p. 151, and Intro. xvi.; R. V., i. 166.

[2] Ibid, vol. i. p. 311; R. V. i. 116

[3] Ibid, vol. ii. p. 17; R. V. i. 126. On the word nishka, *see* "Ancient Indian Weights," pp. 7—10, a paper communicated in 1864 to the Numismatic Society of London, by Mr. Edward Thomas. Numismatic Chronicle, New Series, vol iv. p. 122, *note*. Nishkas appear to have been gold coins, worn as necklaces. Mr. Thomas cites Professor Goldstücker as saying, "that the word may be satisfactorily derived from *nis*, out, and *ka*, 'splendour' (from *kan*, to shine)." Nishka occurs in Pânini, v. i. 20; v. i. 30; v. ii. 119.

[4] Trans. of the Sanhitâ of Sâma-Veda, by Rev. J. Stevenson, p. 37, *note*.

The use of money in trade may not, however, have been unknown; for "merchants desirous of gain" are cited in the Rig-Veda as sending their ships to the sea.[1] In another hymn it is said, that whether men are "helpless or clever," they must "adhere to a bargain," even though it should have proved disadvantageous.[2]

Amongst the vices which the Vedic hymns record, gambling is the most frequently mentioned and the most deeply deplored. In a hymn, praying for protection from enemies, the Rishi Kanwa says, that he does not denounce the man who reviles him; he "fears to speak evil (of any one), as a gamester fears (his adversary) holding the four (dice), until they are thrown."[3]

In the touching 87th hymn of the 10th book of the Rig-Veda, the penitent exclaims, "It was not our doing, O Varuna; it was necessity, an intoxicating draught, passion, dice." Another hymn, from the same tenth book of the Rig-Veda, "may possibly," Mr. Muir observes, "be the production of one who lays before us the sad results of his own bitter experience;" showing with "great vividness and graphic power" that "the seductions and miseries of gambling" were "as acutely felt in those early ages as they are in these later times."

"1. The tumbling, air-born (products) of the great Vibhîdaka tree (*i.e.*, the dice) delight me as they continue to roll on the dice-board. The exciting dice enchant me, like a draught of the soma-plant growing on Mount Mûjavat.

"2. She (the gamester's own wife) never wronged or despised me. She was kind to me and to my friends. But I, for the sake of the partial dice, have spurned my devoted spouse.

"3. My mother-in-law detests me; my wife rejects me. In his need (the gamester) finds no comforter. I cannot discover what is the enjoyment of the gambler, any more than I can perceive what is the happiness of a worn-out hack horse.

[1] Wilson's trans., vol. i. p. 128; R. V. i. 48.

[2] Ibid, vol. iii. p. 170; R. V. iv. 24.

[3] Wilson's trans., vol. i. p. 114; R. V. i. 41.

"4. Others pay court to the wife of the man whose wealth is coveted by the impetuous dice. His father, mother, brothers, say of him, 'We know nothing of him; take him away, bound.'

"5. When I resolve not to be tormented by them, because I am abandoned by my friends, who withdraw from me; yet, as soon as the brown dice, when they are thrown, make a rattling sound, I hasten to their rendezvous like a woman to her paramour.

"6. The gamester comes to the assembly, glowing in body, and inquiring, 'Shall I win?' The dice inflame his desire, making over his winnings to his opponent.

"7. Hooking, piercing, deceitful, vexatious, delighting to torment,—the dice dispense transient gifts, and again ruin the winner: they are covered with honey, but destroy the gambler.

"8. Their troop of fifty-three disports itself (disposing men's destinies) like the god Savitri, whose ordinances never fail. They bow not before the wrath even of the fiercest. The king himself makes obeisance to them.

"9. They roll downward; they bound upward. Having no hands, they overcome him who has. These celestial coals, when thrown on the dice-board, scorch the heart though cold themselves.

"10. The destitute wife of the gamester is distressed, and so, too, is the mother of a son, who goes she knows not whither. In debt, and seeking after money, the gambler approaches with trepidation the houses of other people at night.

"11. It vexes the gamester to see his own wife, and then to observe the wives and happy homes of others. In the morning he yokes the brown horses (the dice); by the time when the fire goes out he has sunk into a degraded wretch."

The hymn concludes with words of advice:

"13. Never play with dice; practise husbandry; rejoice in thy property, esteeming it sufficient." . . . .

"14. Be friendly (O dice); be auspicious to us; do not bewitch us powerfully with your enchantment. Let your hostile wrath abate. Let others be subject to the fetters of the brown ones (the dice)."[1]

The Atharva Veda appears to record many invocations from gamesters,—the following verses are quoted by Mr. Muir:

[1] J. Muir, J. R. A. S., New Series, vol. ii. pp. 29, 30; R. V. x. 34.

"As the lightning every day strikes the tree irresistibly, so may I to-day irresistibly smite the gamester with the dice.

"May the wealth of the rich and of the poor unresisting be collected from every side into my hand as winnings."[1]

In other hymns of the same Veda the Apsarasas are invoked, as: "I invoke hither the skilfully-playing Apsaras, who collects and scatters, and receives gains in the game of dice. May she, who dances about with the dice when she wins by gaming, grant gain to us . . . ." The Apsarasas again in A. V. ii. 2, 4, are "fond of dice," and "soul-bewitching."[2]

From the passages already cited, we perceive that the Rig-Veda Hindus had already made some progress, not only in divine philosophy, but in the arts of life. From other passages, again, we gather that the people probably lived in small towns or villages, much as they do now, governed then, as now, by a headman or elder. In a hymn addressed to the god Agni by Bharadwâja, he says:

"The mortal who feeds thy consecrated burnt-offering with fuel enjoys, Agni, a dwelling peopled with descendants, and a life of a hundred years. . . . .

"Thou art to be praised amongst the people, for thou art our well-beloved guest, venerated like an elder in a city."[3]

Good government is alluded to by the Rishi Agastya, when he says to the god Indra:

"May we be, as it were, thy valued friends . . . . . Emulous in commendation, like (those contending for the favour) of men, may Indra, the wielder of the thunderbolt, be equally (a friend) to us; like those who, desirous of his friendship, (conciliate) the lord of a city (ruling) with good government.'[4]

These "Lords of Cities" probably held power, subject to certain obligations towards a King or Râja, and the king was

[1] Muir, ibid. Atharva Veda, vii. 50.

[2] Muir, ibid, p. 31.

[3] Wilson's trans., vol. iii. p. 384; R. V. vi. 2.

[4] Ibid, vol. ii. p. 165; R. V. i. 173.

not only of the soldier class, but himself practically a soldier leading his forces into battle. Rishis were the advisers of kings, and were sent for on all important occasions to perform sacrifices. Rishis often marry the daughters of Râjas, or it may be that the son of a Rishi is considered a suitable match for the daughter of a Râja. There is a story of this kind concerning the "opulent Rathavîti," who dwells upon the (banks of the) Gomatî (river) a feeder of the Beas or Vipâsâ, and has his home on (the skirts of) the Himâlaya. This story we recount the more willingly, because it shows the position held by women. A priest of the family of Atri performed for this Râja a certain sacrifice, and being pleased with the appearance of the Râja's daughter, who was present at the ceremonial, he asked for her as a wife for his son. The girl's mother objected, because the young man was not himself a Rishi, and no maiden of their house had ever been given to a less saintly personage. This difficulty, however, was got over. The young man commenced his probationary course by practising austerities. The wife of a neighbouring Râja then gave assistance by presenting him with a herd of cattle and costly ornaments; and, lastly, the Maruts, or Winds, appear to have conferred upon him the honour of Rishihood, whereupon he ventured to send these words to the Râja:

"My love (for your daughter) does not depart."[1]

We perceive by this history that women were not then required, in Oriental phrase, to "keep the purdah," or remain behind a curtain; for the daughter and her mother were present at the public sacrifice made by the "opulent Rathavîti," and the wife of another Râja was able to take part in the consequent love-making, and to assist the lover with wealth. Incidental comparisons also show that the presence of women in public was

[1] Wilson's trans., vol. iii. p. 346; R. V. v. 61.

recognised,—as when the forest trees are said to be alarmed at the approach of the Maruts, and to wave to and fro "as a woman in a chariot,"[1] or the Maruts moving in the firmament are compared to the splendid wife of a man (of rank).[2] Other expressions occur in descriptions of Ushas or Agni showing tender affection for women, and in one passage it is stated that an unmarried daughter has a claim upon her father, brother, or other male relatives for subsistence.[3]

In the 124th hymn of the first book of the Rig-Veda, Ushas is said to go to the west, "as (a woman who has) no brother (repairs) to her male relatives; and like one ascending the hall (of justice) for the recovery of property, (she mounts in the sky to claim her lustre)."

In the introduction to the volume containing this hymn, Professor Wilson observes that "it appears, although not very perspicuously described, that daughters had claims to a share of the paternal inheritance."

Chariots and horses used in war were an essential element of wealth; for, as might be expected, the newly-arrived Aryas or Hindus were constantly at war with the people, whose lands they were endeavouring to occupy. On these occasions they invoke Indra, "borne by his steeds," "breaking in two the hostile host," "vigorous, rushing like a war-horse."[4] He who

[1] Wilson's trans., vol. ii. p. 150; R. V. i. 166.

[2] Ibid, vol. ii. 153; R. V. i. 167.

[3] Yâska, 3, 4, quotes a Vedic verse which, according to his interpretation, would yield the sense that sons only, not daughters, have a right to inheritance. "For," he says, "women may be given away (in marriage), sold, or otherwise given away"—a doctrine to which others referred to by him do not assent; and he likewise quotes the verse (given above), R. V. i. 124, 7 (Wilson, vol. ii. p. 12) which, in his opinion, also proves that women are unfit for inheritance.

Yâska's opinion, in its absolute bearing, is however not only at variance with authorities quoted by himself, but would be, I am assured, in its absolute bearing at variance with the later decisions of Hindu lawgivers. (Compare e. g., Colebrooke's "Two Treatises on the Hindu Law of Inheritance," Borrodaile's "Translation of the Vyavahâra-Mayûkha," and Wynch's "Translation of the Dâyakramasangraha," edited by Whitley Stokes, Madras, 1865; also Prosonno Coomar Tagore's "Translation of the Vivâda Chintâmani," Calcutta, 1863. And see the chap. on Law of this work.

[4] Wilson's trans., vol. iii. p. 77; R. V. iii. 49.

with his "champing, neighing, snorting (steeds)" [1] has ever won riches for his friends. They entreat Indra to protect their leader in battle "when the feathered, sharp-pointed, shining shafts fall," and when their horses are "urged over an uneven road like falcons darting upon their food." [2]

Kings rode upon elephants.[3] But of this very little mention is made, whilst the hymns abound in lively graphic descriptions of horses.

The Dasyus, or enemies, whom Indra is invoked to destroy, are darker coloured than themselves. After killing them, he "divided the fields with his white-complexioned friends." [4]

"Indra, ... the destroyer of cities, has scattered the black-sprung servile hosts." [5] Indra . . . . . "punished the neglectors of religious rites; he tore off the black skin (of the aggressor)." [6] Amongst these black-skinned enemies we find one named Sambara. He dwelt forty years upon the mountains, and possessed one hundred ancient impregnable cities.[7] These cities were coveted by one of Indra's white-complexioned friends, called the "hospitable Divodâsa." [8] Divodâsa was repulsed, and obliged to hide himself in the water; but Indra, to give him pleasure, struck off the head of Sambara. Sambara lived in Udavraja, "a country into which the waters flow." [9] He believed himself invulnerable; but Indra discovered him when issuing from the mountain,[10] and scattered the hundreds and thousands of his hosts. For the mighty Divodâsa, Indra, who dances with delight in battle, destroyed ninety cities.[11] Indra hurled Sambara from the mountain;[12] ninety-nine cities he destroyed; the hundredth he gave to Divodâsa.[13]

[1] Wilson's trans., vol. i. p. 77; R. V. i. 30.
[2] Ibid, vol. iii. p. 469; R. V. vi. 46.
[3] Ibid, vol. iii. p. 125; R. V. iv. 4.
[4] Ibid, vol. i. p. 259; R. V. i. 100.
[5] Ibid, vol. ii. p. 258; R. V. ii. 20.
[6] Ibid, vol. ii. p. 35; R. V. i. 130.
[7] Ibid, vol. iii. p. 444; R. V. vi. 31.
[8] Wilson's trans., vol. i. p. 292; R. V. i. 112.
[9] Ibid, vol. iii. p. 474; R. V. vi. 47.
[10] Ibid, vol. iii. pp. 435, 436; R. V. vi. 26.
[11] Ibid, vol. iii. p. 179; R. V. iv. 30.
[12] Ibid, vol. ii. p. 34; R. V. i. 130.
[13] Ibid, vol. iii. p. 173; R. V. iv. 26.

In relating contests of this nature, difference of worship is usually alluded to. Indra saved Dabhîti from being carried off by the Asuras (or Dasyus). "He burnt all their weapons in a kindled fire, and enriched (Dabhîti) with their cattle, horses, and chariots;" and the other good deeds he performed when he was "delighted by libations offered with faith."[1] Enemies advance, "breaking the sacrificial vessels."[2] Similar expressions are very frequent, showing that the Dasyus, or enemies, were not worshippers of Indra. It is also stated that they spoke a different language.

> "Indra . . . . . verily thou hast slain Sushna . . . . . With the thunderbolt thou hast confounded the voiceless Dasyus; thou hast destroyed in battle the speech-bereft (foes)."[3]

In addition to the Dasyu chiefs above-mentioned, M. St.-Martin draws attention to one named Krishna.

> "Offer adoration with oblations to him who is delighted (with praise), who, with Rijiswan, destroyed the pregnant wives of Krishna."[4]

Professor Wilson observes, in a note, that "Rijiswan is said to be a king, the friend of Indra; Krishna to be an *Asura* (or Dasyu), who was slain, together with his wives, that none of his posterity might survive."

Krishna means *black;* and the name may, on this occasion, Professor Wilson thinks, allude to the dark-complexioned aborigines. But there is another Krishna, even in the Rig-Veda, and he and his son Viswaka are members of the Angirasa family, who may be called Rig-Veda aristocrats of good old family descent; and both father and son appear amongst the Rishis of the hymns. M. St.-Martin warns his readers against imagining any connection between Krishna, the Dasyu, who was conquered

[1] Wilson's trans., vol. ii. p. 245, vol. iii. p. 436; R. V. ii. 15, vi. 26.
[2] Ibid, vol. iii. p. 438; R. V. vi. 27.
[3] Wilson's trans., vol. iii. p. 276; R. V. v. 29.
[4] Ibid, vol. i. p. 260; R. V. i. 101.

by Rijiswan on the banks of the river Ansumatî, and Krishna, the Yâdava, the celebrated hero in the epic literature. Dasyu was an appellation given by the Aryan Hindus to the race which they found already in the land. This aboriginal race called themselves Jats, and the word Jat, the Sanskrit Yâdava, refers to the later Krishna, and possibly to aboriginal Dasyus. So soon as Dasyus were converted to the religion of the Vedas, they were ranged amongst Aryas. M. St.-Martin cites passages from the Rig-Veda, in which something of this process is visible. In one hymn Indra is entreated to bring Turvasu and Yadu into submission to his law, whilst in another hymn Turvasu, Yadu, and their king Asanga, appear amongst Indra's friends; and on one occasion we even find a Brahman sacrificer of the important family of the Kânwas thanking the Yadus for the rich presents they had made him. The Bhojas afford a similar example. These people are another tribe of the same aboriginal race as the Yadus, now known as Bhotiyas; but, nevertheless, they assisted at the sacrifice which Viswâmitra offered for King Sudâs.

"These sacrificers are the Bhojas, of whom the diversified Angirasas (are the priests.)"[1]

At verse 14 of the same hymn Viswâmitra asks Indra what his cattle do for him amongst the Kîkatas?—people who offer no libation, who kindle no sacrificial fire. "Bring them to us," he continues; "give us the wealth of the usurer; let us have the portion of the vile Nîcha." Kîkatas are a tribe of aborigines who were dwelling to the east of the Saraswatî, and "Indra's cattle," meaning clouds, the poet's prayer is, that the beneficent clouds may not be detained amongst the people who offer no worship in the east, but that they may come west, and cause plenty and prosperity to Indra's loving worshippers.[2] These slight notices of the Dasyus or Jats of former days will suffice to show that, although they were enemies, they were not regarded

[1] Wilson's trans., vol. iii. p. 85; R. V. iii. 53. [1] St.-Martin, p. 139.

as contemptible or unimportant enemies by the Rig-Veda Hindus. The more combative tribes seem to have lived in the mountains, making sudden incursions on the plains, as their descendants have had a habit of doing ever since. Other tribes again, as the Yâdavas, appear in the Mahâbhârata as then adopting Hindu modes of worship, after having become amalgamated with the Aryan race. This mingling of races has had a most extensive influence on the inhabitants of India. Among the lower classes the *non-Aryan* element prevails; among the middle classes it probably balances the Aryan element, and even in the classes of soldiers, kings, and Brahmans it is far from unknown. Brahmans and a few kings best represent the ancient Aryan Hindu race; and of these we find names in the Rig-Veda which have been honoured, not only in all history and literature, but honoured in a long-continued line of posterity.



"As the tree suffers pain from the axe, as the Sîmal flower is (easily) cut off, as the injured cauldron leaking scatters foam, so may mine enemy perish!"—Viswamitra's Imprecation, p. 71.

CHAPTER IV.

Brâhmans, men who recite hymns,—Rishis, men who see hymns.—Brahman gradually became a general name for Priest.—Soma Sacrifice.—Viswâmitra and Vasishtha.—Conflict between priests and soldiers.—Brahmanical importance supported by ceremonial and sacred literature.—Schools and Colleges.

In the hymns of the Rig-Veda the principal characters are inspired poets called Rishis. Viswâmitra is the warrior Rishi who fought for king Sudâs, quarrelled with Vasishtha, addressed a fine hymn to the river Saraswatî, and crossed its banks to gather Soma. Vasishtha is the Rishi who makes confession of sin to Varuna, and ridicules Soma ceremonies; Kutsa, the

Rishi who drives the god Indra in his car, and so forth. Occasionally, however, the hymns call Rishis Brâhmanas, for Brahman (neuter) is a word for hymn, whilst Brâhmana probably means a man who recites such hymns.[1]

Mr. Muir gives a long list of passages in which the word *Brahman* is used in the hymns in the sense of "hymn" or "prayer," as: "A sacrifice *without prayer* (abrahmâ) does not please thee."

Rig-Veda, ii. 23. "We invoke thee, Brahmanaspati, chief leader of the (heavenly) bands," the expression being, Professor Wilson tells us, "best lord of mantras"—*brahmanâm.*[2] Again, in Mandala vi. 75, we read:

"Whoever, whether an unfriendly relative or a stranger, desires to kill us, may all the gods destroy him; prayer is my best armour."

But in an interesting essay on the original signification of the word Brahma, Professor Haug, while affording further proof that one of the principal meanings of this word is "hymn," warns us not to connect with it, or with our rendering of it, "prayer," the idea of devotion in the modern sense of the latter word.[3]

"Afterwards," Mr. Muir observes, "when the ceremonial became more complicated, and a division of sacred functions took place, the word Brâhmana, or the men who uttered the hymns, was more ordinarily employed for a minister of public worship, and at length came to signify one particular kind of priest with special duties."[4]

Much has been written about the origin of Brâhmans, some Orientalists believing that they were of different race from the other classes of Aryan Hindus; but we meet with no facts suffi-

[1] Muir, J. R. A. S., vol. ii. New Series, p. 260. Priests in the Vedic Age. We shall hereafter call the latter Brâhmans, to distinguish them, on the one hand, from Brâhman, and on the other, from the Vedic works called Brâhmana,—a word of the neuter gender. *See* p. 79.

[2] Wilson's trans., vol. ii. p. 262.

[3] Ueber die ursprüngliche Bedeutung des Wortes Brahma; in "Sitzungsberichte der K. Bairischen Ak. d. W.," 1868, ii. Compare also Wilson's trans., vol. iv., (edited by Mr. Cowell,) p. 28.

[4] J. R. A. S. New Series, vol. ii. p. 261.

cient to support that theory, and their position appears perfectly intelligible as being that of men distinguished for gifts of song. Attached to each king was a *Purohita,* who conducted his sacrifices, this Sanskrit word purohita being, as Professor Max Müller[1] considers, "the most ancient name for a priest by profession," *purohita* meaning *præpositus* or *præses.* Originally, Purohita and Brâhman may have implied the same thing; but whilst Brâhman was, perhaps, used for those who formed themselves into a kind of national association, Purohita was appropriated to designate the officiating priest.

The hymns represent the prosperity of a king as depending absolutely on his Purohita. The Rishi Vâmadeva says:—

"The king, before whom there walks a priest (Purohita), lives well-established in his own house: to him the earth yields for ever, and before him the people bow of their own accord.

"Unopposed, he conquers treasures, those of his enemies and his friends; himself a king, who makes presents to a Brâhman: the gods protect him."[2]

The Rishi of these verses desired super-human origin for himself individually, by asserting that he was to be born as Indra was,—from his mother's side.

Brâhmans appear to have been singularly wise in the measures they adopted for the establishment of priestly or Brahmanical supremacy; and because in later times, "when none but Brâhman priests were known," it became "an unaccountable and inconvenient circumstance that priestly functions should have been recorded as exercised by Râjanyas,"[3] they explained away historical facts and invented "miraculous legends, to make it appear that these men of the royal order had been in reality transformed into Brâhmans, as the reward of their super-human merits and austerities."[4]

[1] Ancient Sans. Lit., p. 485.
[2] Ibid, pp. 487 f.
[3] Muir's Priests in the Vedic Age. J. R. A. S., New Series, vol. ii., p. 283.
[4] *See* Orig. Sanskrit T., vol. i. pp. 95 ff, 148 ff.

The very existence of such a word as *Râjarshi*, or "royal Rishi," "proves that Indian tradition recognised as Rishis, or authors of Vedic hymns, persons who had belonged to Râjanya families."[1]

A celebrated Rishi of this description was Viswâmitra. He was born a Kshatriya, but caused himself to be made a Brâhman. He and members of his family wrote (or in Brahmanical language) *saw* about forty hymns in the third book of the Rig-Veda, in nearly every one of which hymns Soma-juice or Soma-sacrifice is celebrated. At one period he acted as Purohita to king Sudâs, who lived near the confluence of the rivers Sutledge and Beyah, or Beas. Viswâmitra desired to cross these rivers, but found them—

"Rushing from the flanks of the mountains . . . . . like two mares with loosened reins."

Addressing the united streams, he says :—

"Rivers, charged with water, rest a moment from your course, at my request, who go to gather the Soma (plant); I, the son of Kusika."[2]

The rivers reply, that Indra dug their channels, and that they flow obedient to his command. Viswâmitra praises Indra, and the rivers approve of his doing so, but desire him to praise them also. Viswâmitra then says :—

"Listen, sister (streams), kindly to him who praises you; who has come from afar with a waggon and a chariot; bow down lowlily, become easily fordable. Remain, rivers, lower than the axle (of the wheel) with your currents."[3]

The rivers speak :—

"Hymner, we hear thy words, that thou hast come from afar with a

[1] Muir's Priests in the Vedic Age. J. R. A. S., New Series, vol. ii., pp. 283, 4.

[2] Literally, the rivers entreated to cease flowing "at my speech concerning Soma," which the learned Sâyana and the ancient grammarian Yâska understood to mean, "that I may go to gather the soma plant." Mr. Muir characterises these verses as obscure. Orig. Sans. T, vol. i., (2nd ed.) p. 343.

[3] Wilson's trans., vol. iii. p. 51 ff.; R. V. iii. 33.

waggon and a chariot: we bow down before thee, like a woman nursing her child."

Viswâmitra speaks :—

"Since, rivers (you have allowed me to cross), so may the Bharatas, ... the troop desiring to cross the water, pass."[1] . . . . .

The next verse says :—

"The Bharatas, seeking the cattle, passed over."

From this we may infer that Viswâmitra's friends, the Bharatas, crossed the Sutledge in search of cattle to the eastward; and probably on the same occasion Viswâmitra celebrated a great Soma sacrifice for the purpose of securing an extension of dominion to king Sudâs. In another hymn, of which Viswâmitra is the Rishi, Indra is invited repeatedly to drink the soma prepared for him, and Viswâmitra is said to receive great riches. He is described as—

"The great Rishi, the generator of the gods, the attracted by the deities, the overlooker of the leaders (at holy rites.") "Viswâmitra arrested the watery stream when he sacrificed for Sudâs. Indra with the Kusikas was pleased."

The horse-sacrifice, conferring universal dominion, appears to have been performed; for after bidding the Kusikas "exhilarate the gods with praises, singing loud like screaming swans, and drinking the sweet juice of the Soma," we have the following :—

"Approach, Kusikas, the steed of Sudâs; animate (him), and let him loose to (win) riches (for the Râja); for the king of the gods hast slain Vritra in the east, in the west, in the north: therefore, let (Sudâs) worship him in the best (regions) of the earth."[2]

Viswâmitra's favour with king Sudâs was not, however, last-

[1] Muir's Orig. Sanskrit T., vol. i. p. 310 (2nd ed.).

[2] Wilson's trans., vol. iii. p. 85; R.V. iii. 53.

ing. At a subsequent period Vasishtha has become Purohita to Sudâs, and he and the tribes of the Tritsus fight for him; whilst Viswâmitra, the Bharatas, and ten kings, make war upon them.

The relations of Vasishtha and his family to Sudâs are alluded to in the hymns of the seventh book or Mandala of the Rig-Veda. The following is translated by Mr. Muir:—

"1. The Vasishthas, in white robes, with their hair-knots on the right, devoted to sacred rites, have gladdened me. Rising up, I call the people round the sacrificial grass. Let not the Vasishthas depart from my door.

"2. By their libations they have brought hither the fierce Indra, who was drinking from the bowl. Indra preferred the Vasishthas to the soma poured forth by Pâsadyumna, the son of Vayata.

"3. Thus with them he crossed the river; with them he slew Bheda. Thus, in the battle of the ten kings, Indra protected Sudâs through your prayer, O Vasishthas. . . . . .

"5. As thirsty men (looking) up to heaven, they appeared distressed, when surrounded in the fight of the ten kings. Indra heard Vasishtha when he uttered praise, and opened up a wide space to the Tritsus.

"6. The petty Bharatas were cut through like staves for driving cattle. Vasishtha advanced in front; and immediately the tribes of the Tritsus extended themselves."[1]

In the 7th and 8th verses the divine knowledge of the Vasishthas, and the virtue of their hymns, are celebrated. "In another hymn of the same Mandala, allusion is again made to the same battle of the ten kings, and to the priests with hair-knots on the right side."[2]

Hymn 53 of the third book of the Rig-Veda is thought to throw some light on "this obscure subject." Mr. Muir refers to the opinion of Professor Roth, that this hymn 53 consists of fragments from other hymns by Viswâmitra or his descendants, of various dates; the earlier verses in which the Viswâmitras

[1] Muir's Orig. Sans. T., vol. i. p. 122 Comp. (2nd ed.), pp. 319 f.

[2] *See* Roth, Zur Litteratur und Geschichte des Veda, pp. 120 ff.

and the Kausikas are represented as priests of king Sudâs being earlier than verses 21—24, "which consist of imprecations directed against Vasishtha." We have no details concerning what appears to us like a change of ministry; we only perceive that it occasioned a fiery feud between Vasishtha, who succeeded to the favour of the king, and Viswâmitra, whom he supplanted. The following are amongst the expressions of what may be called Viswâmitra's imprecation :—

Ver. 21. "May the vile wretch who hates us, fall; may the breath of life depart from him whom we hate.

Ver. 22. "As (the tree) suffers pain from the axe; as the sîmal flower is (easily) cut off; as the injured cauldron, leaking, scatters foam: so may mine enemy perish.

Ver. 23. . . . . . "The wise condescend not to turn the foolish into ridicule; they do not lead the ass before the horse."

The sîmal is the large cotton tree *(bombax pentandrum)* which grows freely in the Punjab, as in other parts of India. Roxburgh speaks of its "broad umbrageous leaves, fine showy flowers," and seeds enveloped in "fine, soft, silky wool." The poet seems to be struck with the similitude of the white wool bursting from its seed, to the foam which bursts from an injured cauldron. Mr. Muir suggests, as a "*seething* cauldron," when "*over-heated*, casts out foam."[1]

The result of this celebrated conflict, as described by Professor Roth, at the close of his essay on the literature and history of the Veda, is thus quoted by Muir. "Vasishtha, in whom the future position of the Brâhmans is principally foreshadowed, occupies also a far higher place in the recollections of the succeeding centuries than his martial rival; and the latter succumbs in the conflict out of which the holy race of Brahmâvartta was to emerge. Vasishtha is the sacerdotal hero of the new order of things. In Viswâmitra the ancient condition of military

[1] Muir's Orig. Sanskrit T., vol. i. (2nd ed.) p. 372, *note.*

shepherd-life in the Punjab is thrown back for ever into the distance. This is the general historical signification of the contest between the two Vedic families, of which the literature of all the succeeding periods has preserved the recollection." [1]

We have dwelt the more willingly upon these passages because they show something of the contests which attended the early settlements of Hindus in northern India, under Brahmanical supremacy. They were broken up into rival tribes, and were pressed upon by people of different worship. Viswâmitra probably felt that their national existence depended upon striking religious ceremonials and stringent political organisation; and for a time his influence appears to have been paramount: but only for a time. Like other political schemers, he passed through seasons of defeat and adversity. Posterity remembers only his success and his ability. In literature, his reverses no less than his triumphs, his arrogance no less than his liveliness, secure for him the never-failing affection of his countrymen.

The collisions of the less-ambitious Rishi Vasishtha with this proud rival exhibit an interesting contrast of character. One may say of the one as of the other, that in Sanskrit literature they never die: century after century they reappear. If legend or fiction happens to require a representative Brahman, Viswâmitra or Vasishtha, invested with super-human power, are sure to be introduced. But whilst Viswâmitra is the powerful soldier, Rishi Vasishtha is the pious, devotional Rishi, the model Brâhman. The most touching hymns in the Rig-Veda are attributed to Vasishtha, or as Hindus would say, Vasishtha was the seer to whom these hymns were divinely communicated. They bear a certain stamp of individuality. They are simple, ingenuous utterances; confessing sin, yearning after an unknown God, expressing attachment to an earthly sovereign, and referring to battles fought for his protection. Their tone is very

[1] Muir's Orig. Sanskrit T., vol. i. (2nd ed.) p. 371.

different from that of the hymns of Viswâmitra, who makes no confession of sin, but indulges in defiance of enemies, and takes especial delight in the ceremonial of sacrifice. This domineering, ostentatious spirit, was repulsive, we imagine, to the more earnest Vasishtha, and led him to regard the extended ceremonial, with its numerous band of Brahmans, with displeasure and distrust. Such feelings we perceive in the satirical hymn which has been translated by Professor Max Müller.

A Panegyric of the Frogs.

"After lying prostrate for a year, like Brâhmans performing a vow, the frogs have emitted their voice, roused by the showers of heaven. When the heavenly waters fell upon them, as upon a dry fish lying in a pond, the music of the frogs comes together, like the lowing of cows with their calves.

"When, at the approach of the rainy season, the rain has wetted them as they were longing and thirsting, one goes to the other while he talks, like a son to his father, saying, Akkhala.

"One of them embraces the other, when they revel in the shower of water; and the brown frog, jumping after he has been ducked, joins his speech with the green one.

"As one of them repeats the speech of the other, like a pupil and his teacher, every limb of them is as it were in growth, when they converse eloquently on the surface of the water.

"One of them is Cow-noise, the other Goat-noise; one is brown, the other green. They are different, though they bear the same name, and modulate their voices in many ways as they speak.

"Like Brâhmans at the Soma sacrifice of Atirâtra, sitting round a full pond and talking, you, O frogs, celebrate this day of the year when the rainy season begins.

"These Brâhmans, with their Soma, have had their say, performing the annual rite. These Adhwaryus, sweating whilst they carry the hot pots, pop out like hermits.

"They have always observed the order of the gods as they are to be worshipped in the twelvemonth; these men do not neglect their season; the frogs, who had been like hot pots themselves, are now released when the rainy season of the year sets in.

"Cow-noise gave, Goat-noise gave, the Brown gave, and the Green gave us treasures. The frogs, who give us hundreds of cows, lengthen our life in the rich autumn."[1]

That this satirical hymn was admitted into the Rig-Veda, shows that these hymns were collected whilst they were still in the hands of the ancient Hindu families as *common* property, and were not yet the exclusive property of Brahmans, as a caste or association. Further evidence of the same kind is given by a hymn in which the expression occurs:—

"Do not be as lazy as a Brâhman."

It would be very interesting to trace the series of events and measures which resulted in the system of Brahmanical supremacy which has not yet entirely disappeared, and which we imagine to have been greatly assisted by Viswâmitra. A few steps in the progress are visible. The movement was two-fold. It aimed at faithfully preserving the sacred compositions, and also at magnifying the ceremonials of worship. All the old priestly families were registered. Each family was called a gotra, from a word signifying hurdle, meaning those who lived within the same hurdles.[2] Eight of these families have transmitted their names to posterity as descending from the eight Rishis. In some passages *seven* Rishis are alluded to; but Professor Max Müller considers the correct number to be eight. He gives their names as follows: Jamadagni, Gautama, Bharadwâja, Viswâmitra, Vasishtha, Kasyapa, Atri, Agastya. The names vary a little in different documents. Some lists include Bhrigu and Angiras, but every list includes Vasishtha and Viswâmitra. The Rig-Veda hymns were then collected into books or Mandalas, the preservation of each book being apparently entrusted to one of these specified families.

[1] Max Müller, A. S. L., p. 494; R. V. vii. 103.

[2] Max Müller, A. S. L., p. 483, *note*.

The next measure may have been to extend the ceremonials of sacrifice, and this involved the necessity of additional Vedas with classified priests. The character of these later arrangements is briefly as follows:

First, the Rig-Veda with Hotri priests. This is a collection of all the hymns extant, arranged without reference to special ceremony, and containing many hymns which never could have been used in sacrifice. The Hotri priests are the class which make use of the Rig-Veda.

Second, the Sâma-Veda and Udgâtri priests. In the Sâma-Veda certain Rig-Veda hymns are arranged in the order in which the Udgâtri priests are required to sing or chant them in a loud melodious voice. These verses are all, with small exception, to be found even in the existing text of the Rig-Veda.[1]

Third, the Yajur-Veda and the Adhwaryu priests, whose duties are thus described by Professor Max Müller:[2] "The chief part, or, as the Brâhmans say, the body of the sacrifice had to be performed by the Adhwaryu priests. The preparing of the sacrificial ground, the adjustment of the vessels, the procuring of the animals, and other sacrificial oblations—the lighting of the fire, the killing of the animal, in short, all that required manual labour was the province of the Adhwaryu priests." And as a proper pronunciation of sacred texts could not be expected from men whose primary duty was as the "cooks" and "butchers" of the sacrifice, they were allowed to *mutter* such verses as their office obliged them to use; and the elder Yajur-Veda gave a detailed description of their duties, with formulas interspersed.

There is a fourth and later Veda, called the Atharva-Veda, which has a somewhat different character from those already mentioned. Professor Whitney says that "its first eighteen books," of which alone it originally consisted, "are arranged

[1] *See* quotations from Müller, Sâyana, and Benfey, in Knight's Encyclopædia, art. "Veda," p. 578; and the art. "The inspired writings of Hinduism," in the Westminster Review for January, 1864.

[2] A. S. L., p. 173.

upon a like system throughout; the length of the hymns, and not either their subject or their alleged authorship, being the guiding principle." "A sixth of the mass, however, is not metrical, but consists of longer or shorter prose pieces, nearly akin in point of language and style to passages of the Brâhmanas. Of the remainder, or metrical portion, about one-sixth is also to be found amongst the hymns of the Rik, and mostly in the tenth book of the latter; the rest is peculiar to the Atharva;" and these Professor Whitney speaks of as "expressions of a very different spirit from that of the earlier hymns in the Rig-Veda." "The divinities of the Atharva are regarded with cringing fear."[1] Worship in the Atharva is, in fact, not love, but homage, to avert harm, and the most prominent characteristic is its multitude of incantations. Some of these hymns are now accessible to us in translations communicated by Mr. Muir in J. R. A. S., from which we shall presently have occasion to make quotations.

Each Veda had added to its hymnical portion another composition, known as Brâhmana (*neuter*), which will be described hereafter; and at the earliest period of Hindu antiquity the hymn, and perhaps the Brâhmana, were in all probability transmitted orally from generation to generation. To do so without discrepancies was a thing impossible; but to meet this evil, and prevent its increase, societies were formed called Charanas. Each Charana became thus the faithful preservation of one particular recension of the sacred lore. To be members of the same Charana was a very close tie of fellowship. Neither soldiers nor cultivators were admitted—all were Brâhmans.

The establishment of these Charanas constituted a league of Brâhmans powerful to resist interference, and also brought learned men into association, and strengthened those powers of learning and retaining which established their supremacy.

[1] Knight's Encyclopædia, art. "Veda," p. 586.

It was necessary that the memory should be early trained from infancy: and accordingly we find that schools were very early instituted. Every youthful Brâhman was required to live twelve years with a Brâhman-teacher called his Guru. After this he might, if he wished, go home and marry; but if he preferred remaining, he was permitted to spend forty-eight years as a student.

The teacher sat usually in the open air, perhaps under a Pipal or a Banyan tree, as we may see the teacher and pupils of village schools assembled at this day in Bengal and Upper India.

The method of teaching is thus described. "The Guru (teacher) who has himself formerly been a student, should make his pupils read. He himself takes his seat either to the east, or the north, or the north-east. If he has no more than one or two pupils, they sit at his right hand. If he has more, they place themselves according as there is room. They then embrace their master, and say, 'Sir, read!' The master gravely says, 'Om,' *i.e.*, 'Yes.' He then begins to say a prasna (a question), which consists of three verses. In order that no word may escape the attention of his pupils, he pronounces all with the high accent, and repeats certain words twice, or he says 'So' (iti) after these words. As the sense of words in Sanskrit depends upon certain peculiarities of pronunciation difficult of acquirement, the pupils are to repeat after the Guru sometimes several words, sometimes one at a time. After a section of three verses has been gone through, each pupil has to repeat it again and again. About 180 verses were thus studied each day; the lecture then concludes with proper verses and formulas, the pupil embraces his tutor, and is allowed to withdraw."[1]

But, if schools were wanted for pupils, colleges were no less required for the learned men who devoted their lives to studying

[1] Ancient Sanskrit Lit., pp. 505 f.

and teaching. Quiet, secluded, holy places, seem early to have been selected by the Brahmans for this purpose. We find them called parishads; and a parishad seems to have borne a certain resemblance to a European university. It was a Brahmanic settlement, an abode to which the Brahmans retired from the business of the world, and devoted themselves to contemplation, to the composition of sacred works, and also to giving advice and instruction to such younger members of their community as sought them or were committed to their charge. The number of Brahmans required to constitute a parishad is not fixed; it might be twenty-one, seven, five, or even "three able men from amongst the Brahmans in a village, who know the Rig-Veda, and keep the sacrificial fires."[1]

The fame of many such parishads yet lingers on the banks of the rivers which flow from the Himalaya in the north-west region of India. The subjects studied had reference to the preservation of sacred texts. Great attention was given to words, grammatical forms were discussed, and ancient Hindus became powerful in grammar. In a similar way, Professor Max Müller tells us, the wish to obtain correct readings of Homer induced the study of grammar at Alexandria, about B.C. 250. "The scholars of Alexandria" (he observes), "and those of the rival academy of Pergamos, were the first who studied the Greek language critically; that is to say, who analysed the language, arranged it under general categories, distinguished the various parts of speech, invented proper technical terms for the various functions of words."[2]

In looking back to the steps by which Brahmans established supremacy, we are struck by the sagacity and intelligence which they displayed. They secured popular interest and sympathy by an extensive and exciting ceremonial. They preserved the sacred hymns and commentaries by consigning them to the charge of

[1] Parâsara's Dharmasâstra, quoted by Max Muller. A. S. L., p. 129.

[2] Science of Language, vol. i., pp. 80 90.

certain authorised and responsible families, and they secured the progress of learning and the allegiance of the young by establishing schools and colleges. That these objects were not obtained without difficulty, is manifest from many circumstances; as in the hymns complaints of "men who wish to give nothing," and entreaties to "soften the soul, even of the niggard,"[1] or to "penetrate and tear the hearts of niggards," are of frequent occurrence.

In the tenth book of the Rig-Veda,[2] a wealthy man who offers no libation is "grasped in his fist" by Indra, and slain. And that this wealthy man was an Aryan, appears probable by the tenor of other texts. From many passages to this effect, Mr. Muir is led to think that "the priests of the Vedic age found no little difficulty in drawing forth the liberality of their lay contemporaries towards themselves, and in enforcing a due regard to the ceremonial of devotion." The trouble they had in winning obedience from Aryans, or people of their own race, was increased by the vicinity of people of different race and different worship. And Mr. Muir says, it "may perhaps be further gathered, that the recognised Aryan worship of the national gods, Agni, Indra, Varuna, &c., was not perhaps kept free from a certain admixture of demonolatry, borrowed most probably from the aboriginal tribes."[3] One might, indeed, assume as natural and inevitable, that the religion as well as the language, manners and customs of the Aryans, should, in process of time, undergo modification from close contact with their "barbarous neighbours."[3]

When Viswâmitra throws hard words at Vasishtha, he accuses him "of worshipping false gods, of familiarity with evil spirits, and the practice of devilish arts." This does not show that Vasishtha, in reality, paid homage to devils, or even that Viswá-

[1] Muir, J. R. A. S., New Series, vol. ii. p. 290. Priests in the Vedic Age.

[2] R. V. x. 160, 1.

[3] Muir, J. R. A. S., New Series, vol. ii. pp. 294 f.

mitra believed him to be given to such practices; but it shows that worship of the kind was a temptation to which Brahmanical society was exposed in the early days of its formation.

They call the devils "dogs," "owls," "vultures," &c., and describe the Yâtus, or demonolators, as "insatiable eaters of raw flesh."

The hymns speak, as we have already observed, of "Aryan" enemies as well as "Dasyu" enemies; and it seems probable that the "Arya" enemies were men of the same race as the Brahmans, but "neglectors" of Brahmanical sacrifice. The Kîkatas, who "drew no milk to mix with the soma," and by whom "the sacrificial kettle" was never heated, may have been such men; and so also the "ten unsacrificing (ayajyavah) kings," who were unable to vanquish Sudâs, the worshipper of Indra and Varuna. But the praises of the men who partake in the sacrificial feast were effectual: "the gods were present at their invocations,"[1] and king Sudâs triumphed. To perform sacrifice, aided by Brahmans, secured prosperity; whilst dire destruction overtook kings who scorned or injured Brahmans. Some energetic denunciations to this effect are given in the Atharva-Veda. If a wicked Râjanya eat the Brahman's cow, he will find that it "contains deadly poison, like a snake."

"The wicked man who thinks the priest's food is sweet, while he is eating it, swallows (the cow) bristling with a hundred sharp points, but cannot digest her.

"The priest's tongue is a bow-string, his voice is a barb, and his windpipe is arrow-points smeared with fire. With these god-directed and heart-subduing bows, the priest pierces the scorners of the gods."

In another hymn it is declared that—

"Whenever a king, fancying himself mighty, seeks to devour a Brahman (his) kingdom is broken up.

[1] R. V. vii., 83, 84; Muir, J. R. A. S., New Series, vol. ii. p. 290. Priests in the Vedic Age.

"(Ruin) overflows that kingdom as water swamps a leaky boat." [1]

These passages clearly indicate the imperious ambition of early Brahmans, and show something of the difficulties with which they contended. The scientific attainments of Brahmans, their general learning and their piety, will be touched upon in later chapters.

[1] Atharva-Veda, v. 18, 19. Muir, J. R. A. S., New Series, vol. ii, p. 34 ff. Miscellaneous Hymns from the Rig- and Atharva-Vedas.




“ We’ve quaffed the Soma bright,
And are immortal grown :
We’ve entered into light,
And all the gods have known.

“ What mortal now can harm,
Or foeman vex us more ?
Through thee, beyond alarm,
Immortal god, we soar.”

A. V. viii. 48, 3.

CHAPTER V.

Aitareya Brâhmana.—Soma Festival Arrangements.—Story of Harischandra.—Abhisheka.—Purohita.

We have observed that imposing religious ceremonies were amongst the means adopted by ancient Hindus to give strength to their new-formed community, that extension of the ceremonial necessitated additional Vedas, and that to each Veda were appended treatises called Brâhmanas. Our immediate subject now is the Brâhmana appended to the Rig-Veda. It is called the Aitareya Brâhmana. It gives directions for the performance of

Soma sacrifices;[1] and it has, within the last few years, been translated into English by Dr. Haug, late of Bombay, now Professor at Munich. These sacrifices are still occasionally performed in western India; and Dr. Haug, when living at Puna as "Superintendent of Sanskrit Studies" in the College, had opportunities of witnessing the whole arrangement. His testimony agrees with that given by the late Mr. Stevenson in his introduction to the Sâma Veda, but goes much further into detail.

When the native princes, called Peishwas, were in full prosperity, these festivals were not infrequent; but they require an outlay of many thousand rupees. Brahmans, called Agnihotras, are, moreover, the only Brahmans qualified to officiate on such occasions; and Agnihotras are scarcely to be found at the present time, except within the dominions of the Guicwar of Baroda. Knowledge of the correct ritual is fast dying out; and Dr. Haug had much difficulty at Puna in finding a priest who was able and willing to instruct him in it. At length, however, he met with a Srotriya or Srauti Brahman, not only well versed in the "sacrificial mysteries as they have descended from the remotest times," but willing, in consideration of a promised sum of money, to go through the whole ceremonial in a secluded part of Dr. Haug's own premises.[2]

A Soma sacrifice may be performed in a day, or it may occupy five days, a month, a year, or "a thousand years."[3] If a five days' sacrifice is intended, the proceedings are as follows.

[1] Haug, Essays on the Sacred Language of the Parsis, p. 237.

The Soma-plant of the Rig-Veda used in sacrifice is the Asclepias Acida of Roxburgh, which we have represented above as twining up a Bambu. This plant is now more commonly called Sarcostema viminalis, or Sarcostema *brevistigma*, twisting Sarcostema. It is almost destitute of leaves, flowers small, white, fragrant, pedicelled, collected round the extremities of the branchlets. Roxburgh says it yields more pure milky juice than any other plant he knows, and that this juice is mild and of an acid nature; the tender shoots are often sucked by native travellers. It grows on hills in the Punjab, in the Bolan Pass, in the neighbourhood of Puna, on the Coromandel coast, &c.—Roxburgh's Flora Indica, vol. ii. 32. Birdwood, Bombay Products, 1862.

[2] Haug's Aitareya Brâhmana, vol. i. Preface, vii.

[3] Mr. Stevenson tells us that a strict Brahman always keeps one fire burning in a Yajna-sâlâ, or room, in the inner

First, the priests must be invited. A delegate is sent by the person wishing to perform the sacrifice to all the Srotriyas whose services he wishes to engage. The delegate is called a Somapravâka, and he says to the Hotri: "There will be a Soma sacrifice of such and such an one; you are respectfully requested to act as Hotri at it." Hotri: "What sacrifice is it?" Delegate: "The Jyotishtoma-Agnishtoma-Soma sacrifice." Hotri: "What priests will officiate?" Delegate: "Vishnu, Mitra, &c.," meaning priests to represent these gods. Hotri: "What is the reward for the priests?" Delegate: "One hundred and twelve cows." If the priests accept the invitation, the sacrificer has then to appoint them to their respective offices.[1]

And then the Soma, or moon-plant, must be gathered on a moonlight night from a table-land on the top of a mountain. The plants must be plucked up from the roots, not cut down. The bare stems are to be laid on a cart drawn by two rams or he-goats, and brought to the house of the Yajamâna, or institutor of the sacrifice, *i.e.*, the person for whose especial benefit, and at whose expense, all the ceremonies are performed.[2] A sacrificial hall or enclosure must be expressly prepared; and Dr. Haug gives a plan of such an enclosure as he beheld it arranged for an Agnishtoma-Soma sacrifice. The Agnihotra Srotriya, whose assistance he obtained, had not only performed the smaller sacrifices, such as the new and full moon sacrifices, but had officiated as the Hotri who calls, or as the Udgâtri who chants, at several Soma sacrifices. Dr. Haug says: "I noted

part of his dwelling-house. This fire is called the Gârhapatya, or "household guardian." "It is fed with palâsa wood (Butea frondosa), and no other should be used. Twenty-one pieces, each a cubit long, are directed to be got ready against a sacrifice." Fire produced from *arani* wood is required, in addition, at a Somayâga (or Soma sacrifice),—the process by which such fire is obtained being called churning, because "it resembles that by which butter in India is separated from milk."—Stevenson, Trans. Sâma-Veda, Preface, vii.

[1] Haug, Intro., vol. i. p. 56.

[2] Tukârâma, who flourished in the Deccan about three hundred years since, speaks, Mr. Stevenson says, of muzzling the ram, and beating it to death by the fists, as necessary parts of this rite.—*See* Tukârâma, at the close of our chapter on Sects.

carefully everything I saw during about five days, and always asked for explanation if I did not properly comprehend it. I was always referred to the Sûtras and the Prayogas, or pocket-books of the sacrificial priest, so that no deception could take place." The information was given in the Marathi language, and most of the ceremonies only partially performed in order to save time; but he afterwards made his knowledge more complete "by oral instruction from the same, and some other sacrificial priests and Agnihotrins, who had the sacrificial operations performed on themselves and in their behalf."[1]

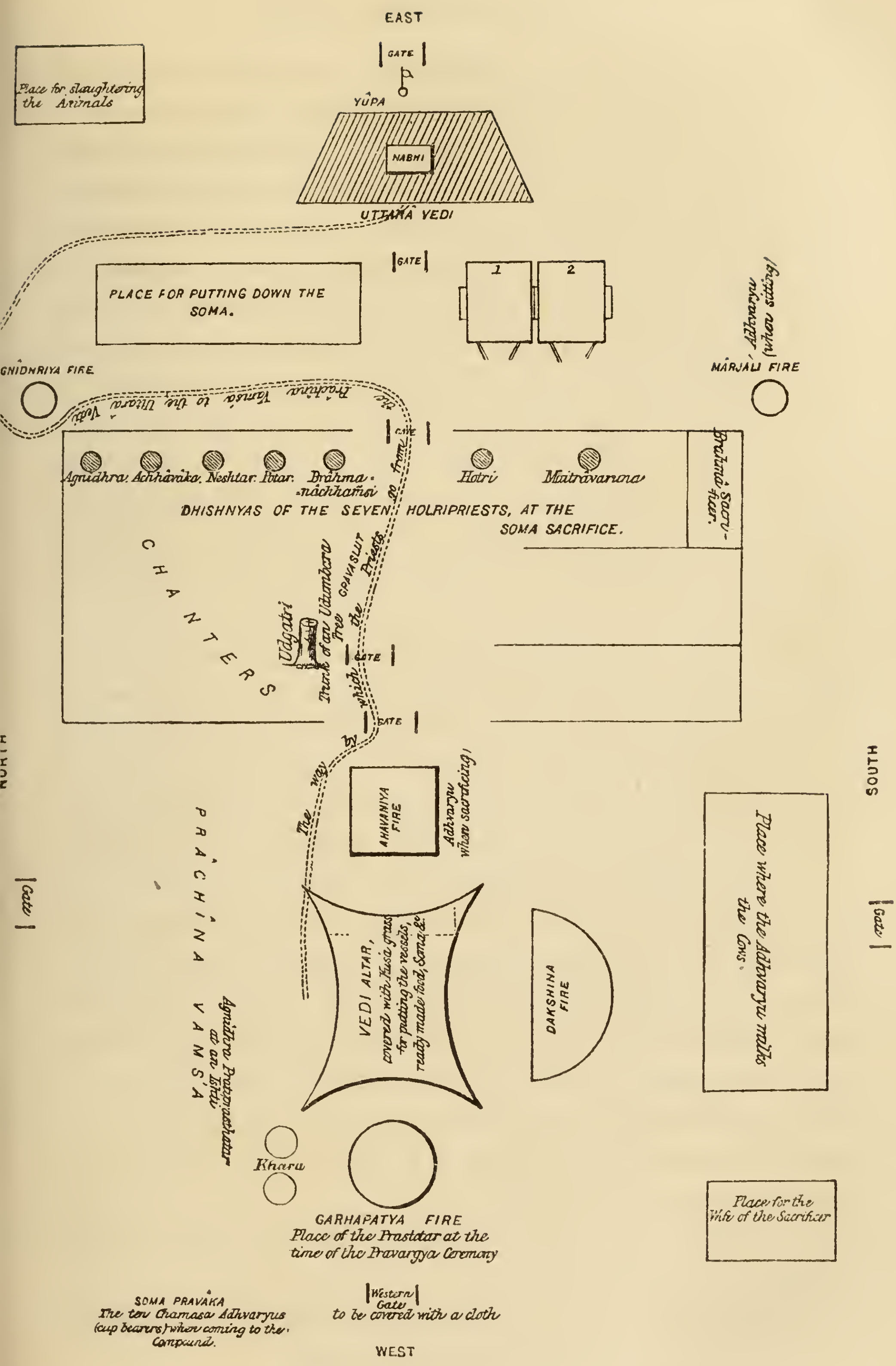
Most of the officiating priests appear to have entered at the bottom of the hall by the western gate. On the left stand the Chamasa Adhwaryus, or the priests appointed to carry in procession cups filled with Soma juice. Beyond these cup-bearers stand the Adhwaryus, priests who mutter prayers or formulas, and near the Adhwaryus the Agnîdhra, whose name indicates that he kindles the sacred fires. On occasion of a great festival his duty was to stand with a wooden sword, called *sphya,* round which twelve stalks of Kusa grass are tied with three knots, and hold up this sword so long as the principal offerings last,—the purpose of this act being to keep the Râkshasas, or evil spirits, away from the sacrifice.[2]

The words used by the Agnîdhra holding the wooden sword are from the Rig-Veda.

"May our prayers be heard. I place before (me) Agni with reverence; we have recourse to his celestial might."[3]

This ceremony, with the formulas used, closely resembles what is recorded in the Zend-Avesta of the angel Serosh, who holds in his hand a sword, to keep the Devas from the creation of Ormuzd.[2]

[1] Ait. Br., vol. i. Preface, viii.
[2] Ibid, Intro. 15.
[3] Wilson's trans., vol. ii. p. 58; R. V. i. 139.


EAST
GATE
YUPA
NABHI
UTTARA VEDI
Place for slaughtering the Animals
GATE
PLACE FOR PUTTING DOWN THE SOMA.
1
2
Adhvaryu (when sitting)
MARJALI FIRE
FIRE
Agnidhra
Achhavaka
Neshtar
Potar
Brahma-nachhamsi
Hotri
Maitravaruna
DHISHNYAS OF THE SEVEN HOLRIPRIESTS, AT THE SOMA SACRIFICE.
CHANTERS
Udgatri
Trunk of an Udumbara tree
GRAVASLUT
GATE
GATE
The way by which the Priests go from the Prachina Vamsa to the Uttara Vedi
NORTH
SOUTH
AHAVANIYA FIRE
Adhvaryu when sacrificing
PRACHINA VAMSA
Gate
Gate
VEDI ALTAR, covered with Kusa grass, for putting the vessels, ready made food, Soma &c
DAKSHINA FIRE
Place where the Adhvaryu walks the Cows.
Khara
GARHAPATYA FIRE
Place of the Prastotar at the time of the Pravargya Ceremony
Place for the Wife of the Sacrificer
SOMA PRAVAKA
The ten Chamasa Adhvaryus (cup bearers) when coming to the Compound.
Western Gate
to be covered with a cloth
WEST

Just in front of the western gate, at the bottom of the hall, the first object met with, after lifting the curtain or covering cloth, was a large fire right in the centre. Near this fire, called the Gârhapatya fire, stood the Prastotri, who chants the prelude in a ceremony about to be described. Beyond the Gârhapatya-fire also, up the centre, is what is called a vedi, or altar, on which they placed sacred grass, ready-prepared rice, and other offerings. On the right hand is "a place for the sacrificer's wife." "The rule is, that the sacrificer must always have his wife with him (their hands are tied together on such an occasion) when he is sacrificing."

Beyond the vedi is the Ahavanîya fire; and this brings us to the large space on the left set apart for the singers or Udgâtris. This place is distinguished by the planting of the stem of an Udumbara tree.

Just beyond the singers, but in the same compartment of the hall, we observe seven little circles in a row, stretching all across from north to south. These are headed, as it were, by the Agnîdhrîya fire on the north, and the Mârjâli fire on the south. The seven little circles are "the so-called Dhishnyas, extending in a straight line from the Mârjâli to the Agnîdhra fire." They are appropriated to certain Hotri priests, "a small earthen ring in which sand, dust, &c., is thrown, and a little fire (from the Agnîdhra) lighted on it," being necessary for the protection of the Hotri priest who stands near it. The Brâhmana explains that Asuras and Râkshasas could not drive away the Hotris when protected by the Agnîdhra fire. Beyond all these fires were places appointed for depositing Soma, and for the carts called Havirdhânas, on which the priests brought various parts of the sacrifice.

At the top of the hall, or east end, was what they call the Uttarâ Vedi, or last altar.

At this end also stands the Yûpa, or sacrificial post, decorated

[1] Haug, Ait. Br., vol. ii. p. 456.

with flags and streamers. This post is close to the east gate. On the left hand is the place of slaughter, and near this what is called the "Châtvâla for making ablutions."

The preliminary purificatory rites took place at the bottom of the hall around the first fire. The closing rites are performed at the other end, and many processions are made from the one end to the other. The priests who carry cups of Soma-juice have to make a circuitous route, which is traced on the "plan," from the first vedi, through the two centre gates past the Udambara tree through another gate, round the Agnîdhra fire, and on to the eastern altar, called Uttarâ Vedi.

At an early stage of the proceedings certain rice cakes, called Purodâsa, are offered to Agni and Vishnu. Dr. Haug witnessed the preparation of these cakes, and says: "The Adhwaryu takes rice which is husked and ground, throws it into a vessel of copper, kneads it with water, and gives the whole mass a globular shape. He then places this dough on a piece of wood, before the Ahavanîya fire. After it is half cooked, he takes it off, gives it the shape of a tortoise, and places the whole on eleven potsherds. To complete the cooking, he takes Dûrba (or Dub)-grass, kindles it, and puts it on the Purodâsa." When ready, he pours over it melted butter, and places it on the appointed Vedi.[1]

The presentation of rice-cake forms part of the preliminary ceremonies which purify a worshipper, and make him worthy to participate in the more important sacrifices. One of these rites, called the Dîkshanîya Ishti, is a very curious ceremony. Apparently, it was suggested by a feeling very nearly akin to belief in original sin. The gods, and especially Vishnu and Agni, are invoked to come to the offering with "the Dîkshâ." Dîkshâ means, we are told, a new birth. "Grant the Dîkshâ to the sacrifice," or give new birth to the sacrifice. Agni, as fire, and Vishnu, as the sun, are invoked to cleanse the sacrificer, by the

[1] Haug, Ait. Br., vol. ii. p. 3, *note*.

combination of their rays, from all gross and material dross. The worshipper is then covered up in a cloth, on the outside of which is placed the skin of a black antelope; and, after a certain time has elapsed, and specified prayers have been recited, the coverings are removed, the new birth is considered to have been accomplished, and the regenerated man descends to bathe.[1]

After the Dîkshâ follows the Pravargya ceremony, which takes place at the west end of the hall, near the Gârhapatya fire. The proper nourishment for a new-born infant body is milk, and therefore when the sacrificer is new-born he must drink milk. A bowl or pipkin of clay is made hot by being placed on burning sticks in a circle of clay marked in the plan as *Khara*. A cow is brought forward and milked, the new milk is poured into the hot pipkin, and from this the sacrificer is required to drink by the aid of a special great wooden spoon. Looking at the plan, we find that the chief singer, called the Prastotri, stood during these ceremonies with his back to the west gate, close to the Gârhapatya fire. "The Prastotri chants the prelude . . . . the Pratihartri chants the response."[2] The ceremonies being concluded, the sacrificer is said "to participate in the nature of the Rig, Yajus, and Sâman, the Veda, the Brahma, and immortality, and is absorbed in the deity."[3]

We have already had occasion to state that at solemn festivals "Agni should be born anew," or fire must be obtained by friction. The new-born is carried from the western end of the hall, and is deposited with much ceremony in a hole, called *Nâbhi*, at the eastern end. The *Nâbhi*, which is called the 'nest of Agni," is lined with *Kusa* grass, and furnished with

[1] Haug, Ait. Br., vol. ii. p. 1, whole of 1st chapter. Max Müller, A. S. L., p. 390. In later times, and in other countries, passing through a hole in a rock served instead of the covering up. Kelly calls attention to the custom in Europe of passing through a gap in a churchyard wall, or a hole in a tree, for the cure of certain diseases.—Kelly's Folk-Lore, pp. 154—157.

[2] Ait. Br., vol. i. Intro., p. 62.

[3] Ibid, vol. ii. p. 51.

sticks of an odoriferous fir-tree and a braid of hair. The two carts, called Havirdhânas, are now drawn by the priests up to this new fire which has been placed in the Uttarâ Vedi, or the altar near the eastern gate. In the carts are the Soma and Ghee about to be presented.

When at length the sacrificer is considered qualified to present the annual sacrifice, the Yûpa, or sacrificial post, is anointed. It is erected close to the eastern gate, just beyond the Uttarâ Vedi, on which Agni's nest was placed. The Yûpa may be made of Khadira wood, or Bilva or Palâsa wood. It is a lofty post decorated with ribbands and surmounted by a flag. The Hotri priest repeats the first verse of Viswâmitra's hymn. "The priests anoint thee, O tree, with celestial honey (butter). &c." Fire is then carried three times round the animal, and directions given to the slaughterers to commence.[1]

This annual sacrifice occupies the fourth day; but the great day of the festival is the fifth, which is devoted to "the squeezing, offering, and drinking of the Soma juice at the morning, mid-day, and evening libations." The four previous days are merely introductory to this "holiest rite"[2] of the Brahmanical ceremonials. The priests enter the hall by the eastern gate, and pass on to the two carts, or Havirdhânas, and repeat prayers whilst applying their squeezing stones to the Soma stalks. Some of these priests must wear flat gold rings. At the morning libation seven priests hold each a cup filled with Soma, and as the Hotri priest repeats the appointed prayer, a libation from each of these cups is thrown simultaneously into the fire,—what is left is drunk by the priests.[3]

Many pages of the Aitareya Brâhmana are devoted to prayers proper for recitation at each of the three libations, but it would be tedious to follow the ceremonies more fully. Many of the directions refer to the music which accompanied the prayers.

[1] Haug, Ait. Br. vol. ii. p. 62, 68—74; R. V. iii. 8.

[2] Haug, Ait. Br. vol. i., Intro., p. 59.

[3] Ibid, vol. ii. p. 394, *note*.

This appears, in a measure, to have been descriptive. A prelude in a low tone signifies night, whilst a flourish at the end in a rising tone indicates coming day, and this, called *Sandhi*, the joining of night and day.[1]

There is a curious passage in which the sun is said never to set:

"The sun does never set nor rise. When people think that the sun is setting (it is not so). For after having arrived at the end of the day, it makes itself produce two opposite effects, making night to what is below, and day to what is on the other side."[2]

Many passages of this Brâhmana might be cited as exemplifying the vague, imaginative, half-humorous fashion in which Brahmans were often accounting for natural phenomena. As when the sun in its yearly course arrives at the highest point of the heavens, they say that the gods were afraid of his falling from the sky, and "pulled him up, and tied him with five ropes." The five ropes being chaunts or musical invocations.

For the "airy descending roots" of the banyan tree they account by saying that when the gods, after the sacrifice (at Indra's inauguration) went up to heaven, they tilted over their Soma cups, whence banyan trees grew; and in Kurukshetra, where this happened, these trees, it is stated, are still called *Nyubja, i.e.,* "tilted over."[3]

Some passages refer to distinctions of caste, and the difficulties felt in determining such points.

"The Rishis, when holding a sacrificial session on (the banks of) the Saraswatî, expelled Kavasha, the son of Ilûsha, from their Soma sacrifice (saying), How should the son of a slave-girl, a gamester, who is no Brahman, remain among us, and become initiated (into all sacrificial rites)? They turned him

[1] Haug, Ait. Br. vol. ii. p. 266 f., p. 211 f.

[2] Haug, Ait. Br. vol. ii. p. 242.

[3] Ibid, p. 486.

out (of the place) into a desert, saying, that he should die of thirst, and not drink the water of the Saraswatî." But a prayer was revealed to him by which he obtained the favour of the waters, and the Saraswatî surrounded him on all sides. When the Rishis saw this, they said the gods know him, let us call him back.[1]

On another occasion a question is raised as to what the priest called Brahmâ does to merit a reward. The Adhwaryu carries the Soma cups, the Udgâtri sings, the Hotri says Yâjyâs, or prayers. "But on account of what work done is the Brahmâ to receive his reward?" The answer is, that "he receives it for his medical attendance upon the sacrifice, for the Brahmâ is the physician of the sacrifice." The Brahmâ does half the work, because he directs the whole.[2]

The 7th and 8th books, which are the last books of the Aitareya Brâhmana, tell of remarkable occasions on which Soma has been, or should be, celebrated. The longest story, that of Sunahsepa, has long been well known in English and German literature, having been translated by the late Professor H. H. Wilson, in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. xiii. pp. 97—102, by Professor R. Roth in Professor Weber's Indische Studien, vol. i. p. 458 ff., and afterwards by Professor Max Müller, in his History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature. The following is a short summary of it.

A king named Harischandra had a hundred wives, but no son, and this was to him an unbearable affliction, for he had been assured by the Rishi Nârada that if he had no son he would have no existence after death, but that "a father who beholds the face of a living son, discharges his debt (to his forefathers), and obtains immortality." Acting on Nârada's advice, the king prayed to Varuna, and, most imprudently, followed his prayer by a promise that if a son were granted, that son should be

[1] Haug, Ait. Br., vol. ii. p. 112. | [2] Haug, Ait. Br., vol. ii. p. 376.

given to Varuna in sacrifice. A son was born and named Rohita, and claimed according to promise by Varuna. The father said he was yet too young, and Varuna consented to delay; but each year the same thing occurred. Varuna claimed the child, and the father ever made some pretext for delay. At length the father told the son that he had promised him in sacrifice, and that the time for it had come. But the son objected, took his bow, and escaped to the woods. After the son had been wandering about for a year, his father the king Harischandra was afflicted with dropsy. So soon as Rohita, the son, heard of this, he went to the village; but Indra, in the disguise of a Brahman, spoke with Rohita, and persuaded him to continue roaming. After a third year he again met Indra in the form of a man, who went round him, and said: "The fortune of a man who sits, sits also; it rises when he rises; it sleeps when he sleeps; it moves well when he moves. Travel." And thus he travelled a fourth year in the forest, and then Indra said: "A man who sleeps is like the Kali age; a man who awakes is like the Dvâpara age; a man who rises is like the Tretâ age; a man who travels is like the Krita age. Travel." And thus he travelled or wandered for a fourth year. But again, on entering the village, he met Indra, and he said to him: "The Kali is lying on the ground, the Dvâpara is hovering there; the Tretâ is getting up, but the Krita happens to walk (hither and thither). Therefore wander, wander." These four, Kali, Dvâpara, Tretâ, and Krita, are the four Yugas, or ages of the world, but they are also names of dice used in gambling; and Dr. Haug believes the meaning of the passage to be that, as Kali the unluckiest die was lying, and Krita the luckiest was in full motion, the future looked well for Rohita, and he had better remain in the forest. In the sixth year the wanderer meets with a starving family of Brahmans. The father of the family is Ajîgarta, the son of Sûyavasa; to him

Rohita says: "Rishi, I will give you a hundred cows if you will give me one of these thy sons to be sacrificed in my place." The father embraced the eldest son, and said: "Not him." The mother embraced the youngest, and said: "Nor him." Thus they agreed to give Sunahsepa the middle son. Rohita gave a hundred cows, took him, and went from the forest to the village. And he came to his father, and said: "Rejoice, father, for with this youth I ransom myself." The father went to Varuna, and said: "With this youth will I sacrifice to you." And Varuna replied: "Be it so; a Brâhman is better than a Kshatriya;"—meaning that the son of the starving Brâhman Ajîgarta was a more acceptable offering than Rohita, the son of a king. Varuna, the god, then directed Harischandra, the king, to perform the sacrificial ceremony termed the Râjasûya, at which, on the day appointed for the Abhisheka ceremony, Sunahsepa was to be offered in place of the usual animal victim sacrifice.

At this sacrifice Viswâmitra was the Hotri priest, Jamadagni the Adhwaryu priest, Vasishtha the Brahman, Ayâsya the Udgâtri priest; but when the victim was prepared, they found no one to bind him to the sacrificial post. Then said Ajîgarta: "Give me another hundred, and I will bind him." After he had been bound, the Aprî verses had been recited, and the fire carried round him thrice, no immolator could be found. Then again Ajîgarta said: "Give me another hundred cows, and I will immolate him." They gave him another hundred, and he went forth to whet his knife. Then Sunahsepa became aware that they were about to kill him, as if he were not a man, but a beast, and he felt that prayer to the gods could alone release him. One god referred him to another. At length he praised Indra with certain specified hymns. Indra expressed his pleasure by presenting him with a golden car. Sunahsepa thanked him in another verse, and bade him pray to the Aswins. The Aswins desired him to praise Ushas with the three verses which follow the Aswin verses. As he repeated one verse after the

other, his bonds fell off, and his father, the king Harischandra, was cured of his complaint.

So soon as Sunahsepa was released, the officiating priests requested him to perform the Abhisheka ceremonies, which conclude a Râjasûya sacrifice. Sunahsepa consented, and *saw*, or invented, the method of direct preparation of the Soma juice, called Anjahsava, reciting at the same time four verses; and then, whilst reciting another hymn, he poured the Soma into the Drona-kalasa (or pitcher). Then, returning from the Uttarâ Vedi at the east end, near which stands the sacrificial post, he performed the concluding ceremonies at the Vedi, which stands at the bottom or western end of the hall. Finally, Harischandra (the king) for whom this kingly sacrifice was performed, was summoned to the Ahavanîya fire whilst another specified verse was recited.

When the rite was over, Sunahsepa placed himself by the side of Viswâmitra. Ajîgarta then said: "O Rishi, return me my son." Viswâmitra replied: "No; for the gods have given him to me." From this time his name became Devarâta (Theodotus) the son of Viswâmitra. Ajîgarta then appealed to his son, saying: "Come thou, my son; both I and thy mother call thee away. Thou art by birth an Angirasa, the son of Ajîgarta, celebrated as a poet; go not away from the line of thy grandfather; come back to me." But the son replied: "Thou hast been seen with the knife in thy hand, a thing not seen even amongst Sûdras. Descendant of Angiras, thou hast preferred 300 cows to me." Ajîgarta replied: "My son! the wicked act that I have commited afflicts me. I throw it from me; let one hundred cows be thine." But Sunahsepa objected, that he who had once done a wicked deed would be capable of doing the same again, and believed that his father would ever retain a vile Sûdra disposition.

Sunahsepa was, therefore, from this time forth, enrolled as a son of Viswâmitra, by the name of Devarâta; and it is remark-

able that, although Viswâmitra had become well established in society as a Brâhman, he felt that it strengthened his position to establish Sunahsepa as his son; the reason being that, whereas Viswâmitra was born a Kshatriya, Sunahsepa was the descendant of a genuine line of illustrious Brâhmans.

This story, contained in many verses, must be recited on every occasion of a king's inauguration. To quote the words of the Aitareya-Brâhmana:

"The Hotri, when sitting on a gold embroidered carpet, recites them (the verses) to the king, after he has been sprinkled with the sacred water. The Adhwaryu, who repeats the responses, sits likewise on a gold-embroidered carpet. For gold is glory. . . . . The king must give a thousand cows to the teller of this story, and a hundred to him who makes the responses; and to each of them the gold-embroidered carpet on which he was sitting; to the Hotri, besides, a silver-decked carriage drawn by mules."[1]

"A victorious king is likewise recommended to have this legend recited to him, though he may not have performed the sacrifice; and a man desirous of progeny is promised the birth of a son if it is properly read to him."[2]

The eighth and concluding book of the Aitareya-Brâhmana is entirely occupied with kings' inaugurations, or Soma sacrifices performed for kings. For translation and explanation of these, we avail ourselves of Dr. Goldstücker's Sanskrit Dictionary, Art. Abhisheka, or inauguration of a king. "This ceremony is either part of a Râjasûya . . . . . when it is called Punarabhisheka, second inauguration, or it is not part of a sacrifice, and occurs at a king's accession to the throne."

"The Punarabhisheka is performed by the king at the end of a Râjasûya. . . . . There must have been prepared for the occa-

[1] Haug, Aitareya Brahmana, vol. ii. p. 470.

[2] Goldstücker, in Knight's Encyclopædia, part 31, p. 589, art. "Veda;" and his Sanskrit Dictionary, s. v. Abhisheka.

sion a throne-seat of the wood of the Udumbara tree (ficus glomerata), resting on four legs a span high, with boards placed on them and side-boards,—the whole well fastened with cords made of munja grass (Saccharum munja), a tiger-skin which is placed on the seat with the hairs upwards and the neck to the east, a large four-cornered ladle made of Udumbara wood, and a branch of the Soma. In the ladle have been placed eight things —curd, honey, clarified butter, water proceeding from rain during sunshine, blades of *Syâma* grass, and sprouts, spirituous liquor, and *Dûb* grass (Panicum dactylon). To prepare a site for the throne, three lines must be drawn with the sacrificial implement called *Sphya* . . . . . so that the two feet to the north come to stand within the Vedi, or sacrificial ground, and the two to the south without."

All these arrangements are typical, and sometimes the types are not very obvious. The tiger-skin, however, promises increase of power, "for the tiger is the Kshatriya of wild beasts." Spirituous liquor is the type of a Kshatriya's power, on account of its fierceness and hotness . . . . . . and *Dûb* grass is the Kshatriya of plants, because it is firmly fixed in the soil by many roots.

At one time the king has to kneel down at the back of the throne-seat with his face to the east. Then he appears to have resumed his seat, and the priest, covering the head of the king with the Udumbara branch, pours the liquid over him while repeating verses from the Rig-Veda.

"These waters are most propitious. They have healing power to free from all disease . . . . With which Prajâpati sprinkled Indra, the king Soma, and Manu, with these I sprinkle thee, that thou becomest king of kings in this world."

"The divine Savitri has given his consent, therefore I pour (this liquid) over thee with the arms of the Aswins."

"After the liquid has been poured over the king, the priest

places in his hand a goblet of spirituous liquor and recites the following verse:

'Soma, with thy most sweet exhilarating drops, purify (this sacrificer), for thou wast poured out for Indra to drink.'

"Then he recites, and makes the king repeat after him, the following invocation:

'(Soma and spirituous liquor), because a separate residence has been allotted to you by the gods, therefore do not combine in the lofty æther; liquor, thou art powerful, but thou, Soma, art a king. Do not harm him (the king) when you enter into your several receptacles (*i.e.*, into the stomach).'

"By the recital of these verses, spirituous liquor and Soma become identified. Having drunk, the king presents the rest to a man whom he considers his friend; for drinking out of the same cup is the mutual practice of friends. He then places the Udumbara branch on the ground as a symbol of essential juice and food, and prepares himself for descending from the throne-seat; but while he is still seated, and puts his feet on the ground, he says: 'I firmly stand on exhaled and inhaled air; I firmly stand on day and night; I firmly stand on food and drink; on what is Brâhmana, on what is Kshatriya, on these three worlds stand I firmly.' He then descends, sits down on the ground with his face towards the east, utters thrice the words, 'Adoration to what is Brâhmana,' and offers a gift. . . . After this ceremony the king rises, and puts fuel into the Ahavanîya fire while uttering the words: '(Wood), thou art fuel; bestow on me sharpness of sense and strength of body.'" Invocations to be used, in the case of a king's assistance in war being required by another king, are indicated; and further verses being recited to insure freedom from enemies, the king returns to his palace, where "he sits down by the domestic fire, and the Adhwaryu priest makes for him, out of a goblet, four

times three oblations, with clarified butter, to Indra while reciting the three Rig-Veda verses ix., 110, 1—3."

When the Abhisheka does not form part of a Râjasûya sacrifice, it varies a little from the Punarabhisheka just described. The ceremonies are an imitation of those which took place when Indra was consecrated as supreme ruler amongst gods. The throne-seat on that occasion was made of verses from the Rig-Veda. Savitri and other gods supported the legs of the throne, whilst the Aswins held the side-boards. The head of Indra was covered with an Udumbara branch, the leaves of which had been wetted, and he was sprinkled with the liquid already mentioned, whilst the appointed verses were recited. When this ceremony is performed for a mortal king, the priest begins by requiring the king to take the following oath: "If I, the king, do ever harm to thee, thou (the priest) mayest deprive me of all pious acts which I have done from the time of my birth up to that of my death, of heaven, and whatever else good has been accomplished by me, of long life and offspring." He then orders his attendants to bring four kinds of fruit and four kinds of grain. These fruits and grains were not used in the Punarabhisheka. The fruits are from the four gigantic fig-trees of India,—the Nyagrodha, or Banyan, the Udumbara, the Aswattha, or Pipal, and the Plaksha. The grains are kinds of rice and barley. The banyan, with its many stems, is considered the Râjan of trees. Less obvious reasons are given for the selection of the other substances. Barley is a type of military commandership; curds make the senses sharp, and so forth. Having been sprinkled with this peculiar decoction, and proper verses having been recited, the king must make a present to the inaugurating priest of gold, a field, and cattle—the larger the amount the better for the king. After receiving the gift "the priest hands to the king a goblet of spirituous liquor reciting the verse: 'Soma, with thy most sweet exhilarating drops,' &c., and the king drinks of it. . . . . By this manner of drink-

ing, the spirituous liquor becomes a kind of Soma, and it is the Soma, not the spirituous liquor, that is drunk by the king."

The concluding chapters of the Aitareya-Brâhmana show, by historical example, how entirely the prosperity of kings depended upon the due performance of religious ceremonies, and the liberality with which those officiating priests were afterwards rewarded. We will select a few passages in which names occur already become familiar:

"By this great inauguration similar to Indra's, Tura, son of Kavasha, consecrated Janamejaya,"—and thereby did he "subdue the earth completely all around . . . . . and perform the sacrifice with a horse as an offering . . . . . a horse fed with grain with a white star on his forehead, and bearing a green wreath around his neck."[1]

"With this ceremony Vasishtha inaugurated Sudâs . . . . . thence Sudâs went conquering everywhere over the whole earth up to its ends, and sacrificed the sacrificial horse."[2]

One king, after being inaugurated:

"Loosened eighty-eight thousand white horses from their strings, and presented those which were fit for drawing a carriage to the sacrificing Purohita."[3]

Of the son of Atri it is said that "He bestowed in gifts ten thousand girls adorned with necklaces, all daughters of opulent persons, and brought from various countries."

This holy son of Atri, whilst distributing ten thousand elephants, grew tired, and dispatched messengers to finish the distribution. "A hundred (I give) to you; 'A hundred to you;' still the holy man grew tired, and was at last forced to draw breath while bestowing them by thousands."[4]

The magnitude of this gift was, however, exceeded by that of Bharata, the son of Dushyanta, who distributed in Mashnâra a

[1] Colebrooke, Misc. Ess., vol. i. p. 39.
[2] Haug, Ait. Br., vol. ii. p. 524.
[3] Ibid, p. 525.
[4] Colebrooke, Misc. Ess., vol. i. p. 41.

hundred and seven thousand millions of black elephants with white tusks, and decked with gold. This same Bharata bound seventy-eight horses (for solemn rites) near the Jumna, and fifty-five on the Ganges.[1]

In conclusion, a story is told of Atyarâti, who was no king, but who, nevertheless, subdued the whole earth by means of this ceremony. But when the Brâhman who had officiated asked for his reward, Atyarâti replied: When I conquer Uttara Kuru, thou shalt be king of the earth, holy man, and I will be merely thy general!' The Brâhman replied: "Uttara Kuru is the land of the gods; no mortal can conquer it. Thou hast cheated me, therefore I take all from thee." And Atyarâti, thus deprived of vigour, was slain by king Sushmina. For Atyarâti had not kept his oath.

The fortieth and last chapter of the Aitareya-Brâhmana begins thus:—

"Now, about the office of a Purohita. The gods do not eat the food offered by a king who has no house-priest. Thence the king, even when (not) intending to bring a sacrifice, should appoint a Brâhman to the office of house-priest."[2]

The king who appoints a Purohita is protected by Agni, fire, but with him who does not, the fires get displeased, and "throw him out of the heaven-world (and deprive him) of the royal dignity, bravery, his kingdom, and his subjects."[3]

When a king appoints a Purohita, he repeats a prayer in which he entreats that all the herbs of a hundred kinds over which king Soma rules will grant him uninterrupted happiness. One part of the ceremony requires the king to wash the Purohita's feet, by which he obtains sharpness of senses whilst saying: "I wash, O gods! the first and second foot for protect-

[1] Goldstücker, Sans. Dic.

[2] Colebrooke, Misc. Ess., vol. i. p. 43, and Haug, Ait. Br., vol. ii. p. 527.

[3] Haug, vol. ii. 528—9.

[4] Ibid, p. 533.

ing my empire, and obtaining safety for it. May the waters which served for washing the feet (of the Purohita) destroy my enemy."

And, lastly, rites are described ensuring the destruction of the king's enemies. We cite a few sentences:

"Foes, enemies, and rivals perish around him, who is conversant with these rites."

"Whenever lightning perishes, pronounce this (prayer), 'May my enemy perish.'"

"When rain ceases. . . . . . . When the moon is dark. . . . . . . When the sun sets. . . . . . When fire is extinguished, pronounce," &c.

On each of these five occasions the same prayer must be pronounced; but "he who uses this spell must observe the following rules. He must not sit down until his enemy is seated, but stand, while he thinks him standing. He must not lie down before his enemy has done so, but must sit, whilst he thinks him sitting. He must not sleep until his enemy has fallen asleep, but must keep awake, while he believes him to be awake. In this way he subdues his enemy, even if he wear a helmet of stone." [1]

[1] Haug, vol. ii. p. 534 f. Colebrooke, Misc. Ess., vol. i. p. 45.



"At the full moon festival a branch of the Palâsa tree was stuck in the ground in front of the chamber containing the sacrificial fire."—P. 109.

CHAPTER VI.

Additional Vedas.—Sâma-Veda.—Yajur-Veda.—Satapatha-Brâhmana appended to the Yajur-Veda.—Full Moon Sacrifice and Pastoral Ceremonies.—Wild Theories.—Origin of Men and Gods.—Deluge.—Manu.—Yâjnavalkya, a leading Character.

Having accomplished our sketch of the Rig-Veda and of its principal Brâhmana, we proceed to the Sâma-Veda, the verses

of which are taken from the Rig-Veda. A valuable synopsis has been made, which enables the student to compare the verses in the Sâma-Veda with those of the Rig-Veda; but the result of such comparison shows that the compilers of the later collection "lost sight of the original nature of the Rig-Veda hymns and of their poetical worth." But although no respect was paid to the thoughts intended, their poetical greatness is not wholly destroyed, even in the "garbled assemblage" in which these verses are given in the Sâma-Veda. Eight of the treatises called Brâhmanas are said to be connected with this Veda, but their contents are not fully known. Soma-sacrifices, incantatory ceremonies, omens, and rites, to be performed on occasions of disaster, as earthquakes, are subjects fully discussed.

The Yajur-Veda is also a "liturgic book," the contents of which are partly taken from the Rig-Veda. But in addition to these borrowed verses, it gives passages in prose called *yajus* (lit. that by which the sacrifice is effected), and to these the Yajur-Veda owes its name.[1] In the train of this Veda, Brahmanical literature made its greatest development. Its subjects required more explanation than those of the other Vedas, and the ceremonial for which it was put together is "much more diversified and elaborate than that of the Sâma-Veda, and the mystical and philosophical allusions which now and then appear in the Rig-Veda, probably in its later portions, assume a more prominent place in the Yajur-Veda. In one word, it is *the* sacrificial Veda, as its name indicates."[2] Hence it was looked upon as superior to the Rig-Veda, in which there is no system of rites; and Sâyana, the great commentator of the Vedas, who lived only four centuries ago, says, in his Introduction to the hymnical portion of the Yajur-Veda (or Taittirîya-Sanhitâ):

[1] Chambers's Encyclopædia, Art. "Veda," 1867.

[2] Art. "Veda," in Knight's Encyclopædia, p. 584.

"The Rig-Veda and the Sâma-Veda are like fresco-paintings, whereas the Yajur-Veda is the wall on which they stand." [1]

The older Yajur-Veda, or Taittirîya Sanhitâ, nevertheless gave rise to what looks very like a schism, and a second Yajur-Veda was prepared, as the legend says, by Yâjnavalkya. It is called the white, or clear, Yajur-Veda, to distinguish it from the Taittirîya, or black Yajur-Veda. The sacrifices treated of are mainly the same in each of these works. Colebrooke alludes to one in which "six hundred and nine animals of various prescribed kinds, domestic and wild, including birds, fish, and reptiles, are made fast; the tame ones to twenty-one posts, and the wild in the intervals between the pillars; and, after certain prayers have been recited, the victims are let loose without injury." [2] Another ceremony unknown to the other Vedas is the Purushamedha, or man-sacrifice: "An emblematic ceremony in which one hundred and eighty-five men of various specified tribes, characters, and professions are bound to eleven posts, and consecrated to various deities." The *Sarva-medha*, or all-sacrifice, and the *Pitri-medha*, or sacrifice to the Manes, are also mentioned in this Veda; and for these and other reasons the Yajur-Veda is believed to be a much more recent composition than the Rig or the Sâma-Veda. "It is worthy of notice," says Professor Goldstücker, "not only that all the four castes, the institution of which cannot with certainty be traced to the period of the Rig-Veda-Sanhitâ, made their appearance in the Yajur-Veda, but also that it contains many words which, in the mythology of the epic poems and the Purânas, are names of Siva, the third god of the later Hindu triad." [3]

It is therefore evident that this Veda belongs to a period subsequent to that of the Rig-Veda, and that it was not composed until the Hindus had become a settled people, located apparently at the base of the Himalaya mountains, and to the east-

[1] Max Müller, A. S. L., p. 175.
[2] Colebrooke, Misc. Ess., vol. i. p. 61.
[3] Knight's Encyclo., part 31, p. 505, art. "Veda."

ward of the river Sutledge. And not only is the whole Yajur-Veda later than the Rig-Veda, but that portion of it called white is later than that which is known as the Taittirîya, or black Yajur-Veda. This fact we learn from Pânini, who mentions the black, but was unacquainted with the white. The Satapatha-Brâhmana which is attached to the white, or later portion of this Veda, is a work of considerable importance. It describes a variety of solemn sacrifices in which the juice of the Soma plant is the chief ingredient; but these are introduced by the smaller festivals called Darsapûrnamâsa, which are held at new moon and full moon. The pastoral ceremonies by which this sacrifice is accompanied are described by Colebrooke. An oblation of whey prepared from new milk being indispensable, the calves were separated from their mothers, in order to secure sufficient milk, and as an annual festival it was held after the rains had restored the herbage. Colebrooke says: "This rite comprehends the sending the cows to pasture after separating their calves, touching them with a leafy branch of Palâsa (Butea frondosa), cut for the purpose, and subsequently stuck in the ground in front of the chamber containing the sacrificial fire as a protection of the herd from robbers and beasts of prey."[1]

Professor Max Müller also alludes to this festival as: "In the beginning of the Darsapûrnamâsa sacrifice, the Adhwaryu priest having called the cows and calves together, touches the calves with a branch," and says: "You are like the winds."[2]

It may be this ceremony which is represented in a picture from the caves of Ajanta which has often puzzled me. The picture is long and narrow. At one end stands a priest; in his hand he has a small cup, whilst a long procession of cows and calves come up to be touched by him.[3] In the Brâhmana it is

[1] Misc. Essays, vol. i, p. 318.
[2] A. S. L., p. 352.

[3] I cannot now remember whether this is the same picture as that in

with a branch of the Palâsa tree that the priest is to touch the calves, and the Palâsa, or Butea frondosa, is a tree well known to Sanskrit literature. Yâjnavalkya says: "As the leaf of the Palâsa is supported by a single pedicle, so is the universe upheld by the syllable om."[1] This beautiful tree extends into the Punjab as far as the western bank of the Jhelum. It is known to travellers as the Dhak tree.

But the full-moon festival, although interesting in itself, occupies but a limited place in the Satapatha-Brâhmana. Its theories of creation are of greater interest to us. "In the beginning, it states, this universe was non-existent. But men say, 'what was that non-existent?' The Rishis say that in the beginning there was non-existence. Who are these Rishis? The Rishis are breaths. Inasmuch as before all this (universe), they, desiring this (universe), strove (arishan) with toil and austerity; therefore they are called Rishis." From the Rishis seven separate men (Purusha) are created, and from the seven men comes Prajâpati.[2]

The same idea of Prajâpati being composed of seven men occurs, Mr. Muir tells us, again in the Satapatha-Brâhmana.

"These seven men whom they made one man (Purusha) became Prajâpati. He created offspring. Having created offspring, he mounted upwards; he went to that world where he searches this. There was then no other object of worship: the gods began to worship him with sacrifices. Hence it has been

which a holy man who stands on a lotus is touching the head of an elephant. My impression is, that the elephant was followed by the cows and calves. In the Edinburgh Review for July, 1867, Colonel Meadows Taylor describes the etching given in my former work, "Life in Ancient India," as a "picture of two holy men, one of them is touching the head of an elephant. He holds a cup in his left hand, and wears a long robe reaching to his feet, with very loose sleeves. The other, who has a nimbus round his head, has an elaborate drapery in folds like that of a Greek statue. The faces of both appear Grecian, and neither of the figures is Buddhist."—Art. on India Costume, &c., p. 125.

[1] Colebrooke's Misc. Ess., vol. i. p. 130.

[2] Muir, Orig. Sanskrit T., vol. iv. p. 18. Satapatha-Brâhmana, vi. 1, 1, 1, ff. p. 499 of Weber's ed.

said by the Rishi (Rig-Veda, x. 90, 16), 'The gods worshipped the sacrifice with sacrifice.'"[1]

The next theory is somewhat different: "In the beginning the universe was waters, nothing but water. The waters desired, 'How can we be reproduced?' So saying, they toiled, they performed austerity. While they were performing austerity, a golden egg came into existence. Being produced, it then became a year. Wherefore this golden egg floated about for the period of a year. From it in a year a man (*Purusha*) came into existence, who was Prajâpati. Hence it is that a woman, or a cow, or a mare, brings forth in the space of a year, for in a year Prajâpati was born." For another year Prajâpati floated about occupying the egg. Afterwards, by worshipping and toiling, he created the gods.[2]

In another passage Prajâpati is said to have taken the form of a tortoise. It is thus rendered by Mr. Muir: "Having assumed the form of a tortoise, Prajâpati created offspring. That which he created he made (*akarot*); hence the word *Kûrma*. Kasyapa means tortoise; hence men say: 'All creatures are descendants of Kasyapa.' This tortoise is the same as Aditya."[3]

It is obvious from these wild legends that the old Sanskrit philosophers found it extremely difficult to determine the difference between gods and men. Prajâpati was the source of golden light—Prajâpati was the source of all created things. After having created creatures, "he created Death, the devourer. Of this Prajâpati half was mortal and half was immortal." But the mortal part was made immortal by a certain rite or ceremonial. Discussions on death occur, showing that this year is death: "for it wears away the life of mortals by days and nights, and then they die."[4] In order to conquer death certain rites

[1] Satapatha-Br., x. 2, 2, 1, p. 767 of Weber's edition.

[2] Satapatha-Br., xi. 1, 6, 1, ff.

[3] Muir's Orig. Sanskrit T., vol. iv. pp. 22, 23.

[4] Ibid, vol. iv. pp. 47—9.

were performed at four months' interval throughout the year; "but with these rites they did not attain immortality;" "which seems to be a polemical hit," says Mr. Muir, "aimed by the author of the Brâhmana at some contemporaries who followed a different ritual from himself." Prajâpati then directs the precise mode in which ceremonies must be performed, in order to procure immortality. Thereupon death objects, saying: "In the same way all men will become immortal, and then what portion shall remain to me?"[1] Death is promised that in future no one shall become immortal with his body. But those who perform the work, or rites, properly, shall be immortal after parting with the body, whereas those who do not perform these rites, "are born again after death, and become again and again his (death's) food."

Much the same sentiment is expressed in other words thus: "Sin, death, smote Prajâpati when he was creating living beings. He performed austerity for a thousand years, to get free from sin."

Considered religiously, the Satapatha-Brâhmana appears to offer a thorough type of scepticism. Man makes gods, gods make a chief god, the chief god (Prajâpati) makes the world and gods. But the gods were mortal. Rites and austerities are invented which insure immortality. Death becomes alarmed. Death is promised that only without the body shall gods or men become immortal. But after the gods have become immortal, they are unable to determine which amongst them shall be greatest.

On this subject the following legend is given by Mr. Muir:—

"The gods Agni, Indra, Soma, Vishnu the Sacrifice, and all the (other) deities, excepting the Aswins, were present at a sacrifice. Kurukshetra was the place of their divine worship. Hence men say that Kurukshetra is the country where the gods sacri-

[1] Muir, Orig. Sanskrit T., vol. iv. p. 50.

[2] Ibid, vol. iv. p. 51; Satapatha-Brâhmana, x. 4, 4, 1, p. 790.

fice. . . . . The gods said: 'Whoever among us, through exertion, austerity, faith, sacrifice, and oblations, first comprehends the issue of the sacrifice, let him be the most eminent of us.' . . . . Vishnu first attained that (proposed object). He became the most eminent of the gods . . . . He who is this Vishnu is sacrifice; he who is this sacrifice is the Aditya. Vishnu could not support this fame. And the same is the case now, that every one cannot support fame. Taking his bow and three arrows, he departed. He stood resting his head on the end of his bended bow. Being unable to overcome him, the gods sat down all around him. Then the ants said to them (now the ants were the same as *upadîkas*): 'What will you give to him who gnaws the bowstring?' (The gods replied): 'We will give him the enjoyment of food, and he shall find waters even in the desert.' . . . . . (The ants, then) approaching, gnawed his bowstring. When that was divided, the ends of the bow, starting asunder, cut off the head of Vishnu. , ... Then the rest of him became extended towards the east."[1]

The conclusion of the passage is, that the gods divided this headless Vishnu into three parts, and therewith went on toiling and sacrificing.

It may be difficult to assign a precise meaning to this myth in all its detail; but so much appears probable that it arose from a mystical speculation on the phenomena connected with the formation of the rain-bow, when the lustre of the sun is dimmed by the rain-cloud, and its head, as it were, cut off, and also that it was intended to explain and justify the threefold division of the great sacrifices so much dwelt upon in the Satapatha-Brâhmana. (Compare also page 141.) Brahmans were not at this time believing in any individual gods, but their mode of securing honour to themselves and prosperity to worshippers, was to perform complicated and expensive sacrifices;

[1] Muir, Orig. Sanskrit T., vol. iv. p. 110.

and the more we attend to the working of the system the more shall we be struck by the effectual means employed to secure its ends. Dr. Haug well expresses the character of Brahmanical "sacrifice" in the following words:—

"The sacrifice is regarded as the means for obtaining power over this and the other world, over visible as well as invisible beings, animate as well as inanimate creatures. Who knows its proper application, and has it duly performed, is in fact looked upon as the real master of the world; for any desire he may entertain, if it be even the most ambitious, can be gratified; any object he has in view can be obtained by means of it. The *Yajna* (sacrifice), taken as a whole, is conceived to be a kind of machinery, in which every piece must tally with the other; or a sort of large chain, in which no link is allowed to be wanting; or a staircase, by which one may ascend to heaven; or as a personage, endowed with all the characteristics of the human body. It exists from eternity, and proceeded from the Supreme Being (Prajâpati or Brahma *neuter*), along with the *Traividyâ*, i.e., the three-fold science. The creation of the world was even regarded as the fruit of a sacrifice, performed by the Supreme Being. The Yajna exists as an invisible thing at all times. It is like the latent power of electricity in an electrifying machine, requiring only the operation of a suitable apparatus in order to be elicited. It is supposed to extend, when unrolled, from the Ahavanîya, or sacrificial fire (into which all oblations are thrown), to heaven, forming thus a bridge or ladder, by means of which the sacrifice can communicate with the world of gods and spirits, and even ascend, when alive, to their abodes."[1]

Ancient Brâhmans were men of varied intellectual gifts. They had, we think, the widest range of mind of which man is capable, but they were sorely perplexed for a fitting object of worship, and for a fitting base whereon to erect a moral standard; and although in the Brâhmanas their minds soar upwards ever and anon, as they had soared upwards in the days of the Rig-Veda, it may be observed that, from the time at which they became a priestly association, seeking to establish priestly power and in-

[1] Haug, Ait. Br., vol. i., Intro., p. 73.

fluence, selfish aims checked spiritual aspiration. Brâhmans, as a society, had a double object in view. They desired to see and communicate truth, but they also desired to establish the authority of their caste, and this second aim they could best attain by identifying their origin with that of Brahma or the Veda. Consequently, in the Satapatha-Brâhmana, we meet continually with expressions to this effect: as—

"The gods were originally mortal; when they were pervaded by Brahma they became immortal."

And again:—

"In the beginning Brahma was all this. He created the gods, ... he placed them in these worlds; in this world Agni; Vâyu in the atmosphere, and Sûrya in the sky."

The contents of the Satapatha-Brâhmana are somewhat heterogeneous, and amongst other curious stories there is one relating to the Deluge, to which we shall have occasion to refer again when treating of the epic poems.[1]

We avail ourselves of Professor Max Müller's translation.

"To Manu they brought in the morning water to wash. As they bring it with their hands for the washing, a fish comes into the hands of Manu as soon as he has washed himself.

"He spoke to Manu the word: 'Keep me; I shall preserve thee.' Manu said, 'From what wilt thou preserve me?' The fish said, 'The flood will carry away all these creatures. I shall preserve thee from it.' 'How canst thou be kept?' said Manu.

"The fish replied, 'As long as we are small there is much destruction for us; fish swallows fish. First, then, thou must keep me in a jar. If I outgrow it dig a hole, and keep me in it. If I outgrow this, take me to the sea, and I shall be saved from destruction.'

"He became soon a large fish. He said to Manu, 'When I am full grown, in the same year the flood will come. Build a ship, then, and

[1] Muir, Orig. Sanskrit T., vol. iv. pp. 50, 25; Sat. Br., xi. 2, 3, 6, p. 839; ibid, xi. 2, 3, 1, p. 838.

worship me; and when the flood rises go into the ship, and I shall preserve thee from it.'

"Manu brought the fish to the sea, after he had kept him thus. And in the year which the fish had pointed out, Manu had built a ship and worshipped the fish. Then when the flood had risen, he went into the ship. The fish came swimming to him, and Manu fastened the rope of the ship to a horn of the fish. The fish carried him by it over the northern mountain.

"The fish said, 'I have preserved thee. Bind the ship to a tree. May the water not cut thee asunder while thou art on the mountain. As the water will sink, thou wilt slide down.' Manu slid down with the water: and this is called the Slope of Manu on the northern mountain. The flood had carried away all these creatures, and thus Manu was left there alone."[1] . . . . .

Manu then meditated a hymn, wishing for offspring, and a woman is created from curds and whey; and in due time the world is peopled.

In some passages Manu is also looked upon as the "first person by whom sacrificial fire had been kindled, as the institutor of ceremonial worship."[2] Of this Mr. Muir gives numerous instances, but says that it is not always apparent "whether the patriarch, Manu, or man merely, is meant."[3] The descendants of Manu are, however, identified in the hymns with the Aryan Hindus,—the worshippers of the gods, those among whom Agni has taken up his abode; and these are continually contrasted with the Dasyus, as—

"Indra, who bestows a hundred succours in all battles, in heaven-conferring battles, has preserved in the conflict the sacrificing Arya. Chastising the neglectors of religious rites, he has subjected the black skin to Manu.

"For thou, Indra, art the destroyer of all the cities, the slayer of the Dasyu, the promoter of Manu, the lord of the sky."

[1] A. S. L., p. 425.
[2] R. V. i. 130; viii. 87.
[3] Muir, in J. R. A. S., vol. xx. pp. 410, 413, 420, 427. On Manu, the Progenitor of the Aryan Indians.

The "five tribes" of the hymns are also identified with the Aryans and descendants of Manu.

In the very interesting paper which has just been quoted from, Mr. Muir has shown, that even in the hymns of the Rig-Veda and the Sâma-Veda, Manu was regarded "as the father, or progenitor, of the authors of the hymns, and of the people to whom they addressed themselves." He quotes verses, in which the expression "father Manu," or "father Manus," occurs.[1] In one of these,[2] amongst remedies, "those which our father Manu chose," are mentioned. Mr. Muir says further, "The words mânava (a regular derivative from Manu), and mânusha and manushya (which are regularly derived from manus, a form peculiar to the Veda), are also of frequent occurrence in the hymns, in the sense of persons belonging to, or descended from Manu, or Manus; and would of themselves almost suffice to prove, that in the Vedic age Manu was regarded as the progenitor of the people of whom these terms were descriptive. In later Sanskrit, as is well known, they are the most common words for men in general."[3]

"But," says Mr. Muir, "it is not merely in the hymns of the Veda that we find proof of his being originally so regarded;" and then, after telling the story given above from the Satapatha Brâhmana, he concludes by observing that "this testimony to Manu, being regarded as the progenitor of the Aryan Indians, is sufficiently clear."[4]

The story of Manu and the Deluge appears again in the Mahâbhârata, as will be seen in our chapter on that poem. Mr. Muir observes that there some details are included which bring "the account into closer accordance with the Semitic form of the legend, as preserved in the book of Genesis. These details are: 1st. That Manu was accompanied by the seven Rishis, who made up with himself eight persons." . . . . . "And 2nd, that Manu

[1] R. V. i. pp. 80, 16; 114, 2.
[2] R. V. ii. pp. 33, 13.
[3] J. R. A. S., vol. xx. pp. 406, 409.
[4] Ibid, p. 427.

took with him all the seeds, just as Noah is said to have taken pairs of different animals." . . . . .

"But was it the Aryan Indians only who looked upon Manu, or Manus, as the progenitor of their race; or was this belief shared by the other branches of the Indo-Germanic race?"

The opinions of Professors Roth and Weber are given on this subject, and then, without attempting a decided answer, Mr. Muir thus finishes his valuable article:—

"It has been remarked by various authors (as Kuhn, Zeitschrift, iv., 94 f.), that in analogy with Manu, or Manus, as the father of mankind, or of the Aryas, German mythology recognises Mannus as the ancestor of the Teutons." . . . . .

"The English 'man,' and the German 'Mann,' appear also to be akin to the word *manu*; and the German 'Mensch' presents a close resemblance to *manush*."

The tendency of Mr. Muir's remarks is to show us that the legends of the Brâhmanas, and epics, may be discovered in embryo, or in undeveloped form, in the hymns of the Vedas; and the Satapatha-Brâhmana appears as the grand occasion for their general development.[1]

This Brâhmana "ends with the assertion, that the White Yajur-Veda was proclaimed by Yâjnavalkya Vâjasaneya." And all authorities agree in stating that Yâjnavalkya was in some sense the leader of the apparent schism which ended in the establishment of a second Yajur-Veda. Professor Max Müller observes, "that it would be a mistake to call Yâjnavalkya the author, in our sense of the word, of the Vâjasaneyi-Sanhitâ and the Satapatha-Brâhmana. But we have no reason to doubt that it was Yâjnavalkya who brought the ancient Mantras and Brâhmanas into their present form."[2]

Yâjnavalkya Vâjasaneya was evidently a man of great influence, a leader of public opinion in his day; and one longs to

[1] J. R. A. S., vol. xx., p. 429.

[2] A. S. L., pp. 353, 354.

know when he lived. But this is a subject still requiring much elucidation, as may be seen in the Introduction to Professor Goldstücker's Pânini.[1] Yâjnavalkya is not mentioned by Pânini, but by Kâtyâyana, his critic; and the works which Yâjnavalkya proclaimed and arranged were unknown to the great grammarian. We learn further, from the same authority, that the Satapatha-Brâhmana, which we have characterised as sceptical, gives ideas more allied to the epic than to the Rig-Veda period.

"In the Vedic hymns the immortality of the gods is never matter of doubt; . . . . . the offerings they receive may add to their comfort and strength; . . . . . but it is nowhere stated that they are indispensable for their existence. It is . . . . . the pious sacrificer himself who, through his offerings, secures to himself . . . . . immortality." And only in the latest Brâhmana, the Satapatha-Brâhmana, are gods represented "as becoming immortal through exterior agency."[2]

We close our notice of this Brâhmana with a curious legend, in which Yâjnavalkya plays the chief part.

"Janaka, the king of the Videhas, performed a sacrifice, at which many Brâhmans were assembled. The king, having a great desire to know who among these Brâhmans knew best the Vedas, hid a thousand cows in a stable, and covered the horns of each of them with ten pada of gold. He then said to the pious men: 'O venerable Brâhmans, whoever amongst you is the best known of Brahman' (or Brahma neuter.) 'shall drive home these cows.' The Brâhmans, however, did not venture to come forward. Then said Yâjnavalkya to his student: 'Drive home these cows.' But the Brâhmans became angry, and began to examine the sage as to his knowledge of the Veda. Then asked him Uddâlaka, the son of Aruna, ... 'Who art thou?' and to other priests of the family of Kapi he said: 'Knowest thou, O Kâpya, that Inner Ruler, who within rules this world, and

[1] Pânini, his Place in Sanskrit Literature, pp. 131—137.

[2] Chambers's Encyclopædia, article "India," vol. v. p. 542.

the other world, and all beings?' The answer being negative, he continued: 'Whoever knows the Thread and the Inner Ruler, knows Brahman, knows the worlds, knows the gods, knows the Vedas, knows the elements, knows the soul,—knows all.' The Thread, &c., being explained, he further says: 'If thou, Yâjnavalkya, ignorant of the Thread and the Inner Ruler, hast taken away the cows, (destined for the best knower of Brahman), thy head will certainly drop down.' Yâjnavalkya explains that the wind is the Thread, that the Inner Ruler is the soul, and that the soul is immortal. 'Unseen, he sees; unheard, he hears; unminded, he minds; unknown, he knows. There is none that sees, but he; there is none that hears, but he; there is none that minds, but he; there is none that knows, but he. He is thy soul—the inner ruler,—immortal. Whatever is different from him is perishable.'"[1]

In our second story, Yâjnavalkya and two other celebrated Brâhmans are visited by king Janaka, who asks them how they perform the sacrifice called Agnihotra. The first Brâhman explained, that in the evening he sacrificed to Aditya (the sun) in the fire; and in the morning he sacrificed to Agni (fire) in the sun (Aditya). What becomes of him who sacrifices thus? said the king. The Brâhman replied: "He becomes ever shining with happiness and splendour, and has his dwelling with those two gods, and is one with them." The second Brâhman said the same. The third, who was Yâjnavalkya, said: "I offer the Agnihotra in taking out the fire (from the house-altar); for when Aditya sits, all the gods follow him; and if they see that I take out the fire, they come back, and after having cleaned the sacrificial vessels, having filled them again, and after having milked also the sacred cow, I shall delight them, when I see them again and they see me."

Janaka said: "Thou, O Yâjnavalkya, hast come very near

[1] Knight's Encyclo., part 31, p. 592.

to the Agnihotra; I shall give thee a hundred cows. But thou dost not know what becomes afterwards of these two libations (in the morning and evening)." So he said, then mounted his car and went away.

The priests said: "This fellow of a Râjanya has insulted us; let us call him out for a Brahman dispute." Yâjnavalkya observed: "We are Brâhmans, he a fellow of a Râjanya. If we vanquished him, whom should we say we had vanquished? But if he vanquished us, people would say of us that a Râjanya had vanquished Brâhmans. Do not think of this." They allowed what he said; and Yâjnavalkya mounted his car and followed the king. He reached the king; and the king said to him: "Yâjnavalkya, dost thou come to know the Agnihotra?" "The Agnihotra, O king," replied Yâjnavalkya. The king then explains his view of the morning and evening libations, called Agnihotra. He says they rise in the air, and there the sacrifice is again performed. The wind is fuel, the rays the bright libation. They enter the sky, and are performed by sun and moon: they come back to earth, and are performed by warmth and plants. They enter man, and are performed by his tongue and food. They enter woman, and a son is born." In return for this exposition Yâjnavalkya grants the king a boon, and Janaka is allowed to become a Brâhman.[1]

[1] Max Müller, A. S. L., pp. 421—423.



Guru. Bring me a fruit of the Nyagrodha tree. Break one of the small seeds which it contains. What do you perceive in it?

Pupil. Nothing, my lord.

Guru. My child, where you perceive nothing, there dwells a mighty Nyagrodha. —Page 145.

CHAPTER VII.

Studies for the Forest.—Soul.—Immortality.—Yâjnavalkya and his wife.—Upanishads.—Nachiketas.—Yama.—Om.—Soul.—Brahma.—Musical Chants.—Hard Case of Pupil of unknown Pedigree.—Knowledge of Brahma.—Quietude.

Advancing beyond the "Brâhmanas," we come to a class of compositions called Aranyakas and Upanishads. They presuppose the existence of the Brâhmanas, and are regarded as sup-

plementary or complimentary to those writings. The original meaning of the word Aranyaka is "relating to a forest," as "a man who lives in a forest," or, according to lexicographers, "a forest-road, a forest elephant, a jackall, &c."[1] But these meanings are almost forgotten in the importance attached to the word as the name of the religious compositions to be studied by men dwelling in the forest. This meaning is not given to the word by Pânini, who seems to have lived before such works were written; but it is recognised by Kâtyâyana, who criticised and supplemented the Sûtras of the great grammarian.[2] As far as translations permit one to judge, the Aranyakas are mystical compositions, caring little for outward manifestations of deity, but entering earnestly into the nature of soul, universal and individual. In the Aitareya-Aranyaka it is asked, of what nature is soul which existed before worlds were created? Are the instruments by which objects are perceived the soul? And reply is made, "That by which the soul sees form, by which it hears sound, by which it apprehends smells, by which it expresses speech, by which it distinguishes what is of good, and what is not of good taste, the heart, the mind, knowledge about one's self, knowledge of the sixty-four sciences, knowledge of what is practicable, &c., perseverance, desire, submission," are names of knowledge and attributes of soul, as the inferior Brahma, but "are not attributes of the superior Brahma, which has no form whatsoever."[3] One of the most important Aranyakas known, is that attached to the Satapatha-Brâhmana, and called the Brihad. It describes Prajâpati as the sacrificial horse. Death, it declares, preceded creation, but sacrifice overcame death, the chanting of priests being a part of such sacri-

[1] Goldstücker, art. "Veda" in Knight's Encyclopædia.

[2] Pânini gives merely the meaning of "living in the forest."—Goldstücker, Pânini, 129.

[3] Röer's trans. of the Aitareya-Upanishad (which is a part of the Aitareya-Aranyaka), in Bib. Ind., vol. xv. p. 33.

fice. The recital of certain verses has also power to procure immortality for man, as :

"The praiser verily praises the Sâma. Where he praises it, there let him mutter these Mantras : 'From the unreal lead me to the real, from darkness lead me to light, from death lead me to immortality.'"

He who sings or chants these verses accomplishes by such recital whatever he may desire.[1]

The story of king Janaka and the Brâhmans, told in the Satapatha-Brâhmana, is here repeated with additions ; but by far the most interesting passage in the Brihad-Aranyaka is the dialogue between the Brâhman Yâjnavalkya and his wife Maitreyî. A short account of this was given by Colebrooke ; but we adopt the fuller translation of Professor Max Müller.[2]

"Maitreyî," said Yâjnavalkya, "I am going away from this my house (into the forest). Forsooth, I must make a settlement between thee and my other wife Kâtyâyanî.

"Maitreyî said : 'My lord, if this whole earth, full of wealth belonged to me, should I be immortal by it?'

"No," replied Yâjnavalkya. "Like the happy life of rich people will be thy life. But there is no hope of immortality by wealth."

"And Maitreyî said : 'What should I do with that by which I do not become immortal? What my lord knoweth (of immortality) may he tell that to me?'

"Yâjnavalkya replied : 'Thou, who art truly dear to me, thou speakest dear words. Sit down ; I will explain it to thee, and listen well to what I say.' And he said ; 'A husband is loved, not because you love the husband, but because you love (in him) the Divine Spirit (âtmâ, the absolute self). A wife is loved, not because we love the wife, but because we love (in her) the Divine Spirit. Children are loved, not because we love the children, but because we love the Divine Spirit in them. This spirit it is which we love when we (seem to) love wealth, Brâhmans, Kshatriyas, this world, the gods, all beings, this

[1] Dr. Roer, Bib. Ind., vol. ii. part iii. p. 9. Ibid, p. 58 ff.

[2] A. S. L., p. 22 ff.

universe. The Divine Spirit, O beloved wife, is to be seen, to be heard, to be perceived, and to be meditated upon. If we see, hear, perceive, and know him, O Maitreyî, then this whole universe is known to us."

"Whosoever looks for Brahmahood elsewhere . . . . . should be abandoned by Brâhmans . . . . . Brahmahood, Kshatra-power, this world, these gods . . . . all is the Divine Spirit.'"

Several illustrations follow, showing, that as the sounds of a drum can only be seized by beating it, or the sounds of a conch-shell by blowing it, "so is it with the Divine Spirit." And as clouds of smoke rise out of a fire kindled with dry fuel, thus have all holy words been breathed out of that Great Being.

His last illustration is as follows:

"'It is with us, when we enter into the Divine Spirit, as if a lump of salt was thrown into the sea. . . . . . It cannot be taken out again —the whole water becomes salt, but the salt disappears. . . . . When we have passed away, there is no longer any name. This, I tell thee, my wife,' said Yâjnavalkya.

"Maitreyî said: 'My lord, here thou hast bewildered me, saying that there is no longer any name when we have passed away.'

"And Yâjnavalkya replied: 'My wife, what I say is not bewildering —it is sufficient for the highest knowledge. For if there be, as it were, two beings, then the one sees the other; the one hears, perceives, and knows the other. But if the one Divine Self be the whole of all this, whom or through whom should he see, hear, perceive, or know? How should he know (himself), by whom he knows everything (himself)? How, my wife, should he know (himself) the knower? Thus thou hast been taught, Maitreyî; this is immortality.' Having said this, Yâjnavalkya left his wife for ever, and went into the solitude of the forests."[1]

This doctrine may have been satisfactory to Yâjnavalkya, but it did not satisfy Maitreyî; and we shall find, after a time, that

[1] A. S. L., p. 24 f.

many felt as she did, that to disappear in an endless mass of knowledge, and have no name, was bewildering, and that in consequence of this bewilderment a refuge was sought in ideas of transmigration.

But besides the Aranyakas there are numerous treatises of the same description known as Upanishads, and the writings, so called, appear to be amongst the most important and most interesting within the range of Sanskrit literature.

Upanishads attempt to answer the momentous question raised in the Vedic hymns, "Whence this varied world arose;" for the object is to explain, not only the process of creation, but the nature of a supreme being, and its relation to the human soul. "In the Upanishads," continues an author to whose assistance we continually resort, "Agni, Indra, Vâyu, and the other deities of the Vedic hymns become symbols, to assist the mind in its attempt to understand the true nature of our absolute being, and the manner in which it manifests itself in its worldly form." Several explanations of the origin of the word Upanishad have been attempted, but these it will be unnecessary to particularise. The ancient grammarian Pânini appears to have understood by it "secret," and this meaning Professor Goldstücker thinks not incompatible with its etymology, which may mean "entering into that which is hidden—the mysterious science which, by bestowing on the mind real knowledge, leads to the attainment of eternal bliss."[1]

[1] The Upanishads treat the hymns of the Vedas as of very inferior importance to the philosophic teaching of their own pages, and the result is that "Upanishads are almost the only portion of Vedic literature which is extensively read to this day."—P. 316. The late Rammohun Roy made little allusion to Vedic hymns, but published translations of Upanishads, "for the purpose," he said, "of diffusing Hindu Scriptural knowledge among the adherents of that religion." He was therefore astonished when he came to England to find the late Dr. Rosen at the British Museum, labouring to prepare a correct edition of the hymns, an undertaking which, to him, appeared "useless."—Preface to trans., Katha Upanishad. From this it is obvious that it is in the Upanishads we must seek to learn the ancient Hindu doctrine on man's soul, the universal soul, and immortality.—Goldstücker, in Chambers's Encyclopædia, art. "Veda," p. 591.

The Upanishads, which are numerous, are composed by thinkers who were independent of each other, and who wrote at various times. Sometimes they give the same ideas and illustrations, although in different order, deriving material apparently from a common source, but not copying the one from the other. The writer's names are never mentioned. This is a marked characteristic of the Upanishads. The authors were men who wrote simply and earnestly, with absolute belief in the truth of the statements which they made. They had no advantage to gain by writing anonymously, but neither had they any desire for fame or personal influence. These men appear, in fact, to have been possessed by an ardent spirit of aspiration, of which Sanskrit religious literature is the result and the exponent.

In the Bibliotheca Indica, published in Calcutta, we find a collection of Upanishads translated into English. Short accounts of some of the more striking of these compositions will show the modes by which early thoughts, some of which originated in Rig-Veda hymns, became gradually developed.

We begin with the Prasna, which touches on all the leading subjects of theological inquiry. A Rishi named Pippalâda has six pupils. They approach their Guru (or teacher), bearing logs of wood for the sacred fire, and ask from him knowledge of Brahma. Pippalâda bids them pass another year in austerity, after which he says they may ask any questions they like, and "If we know," he says, "we will explain to you." When the year had expired, the pupils again approach, the first enquiring, "Whence are these creatures produced?" Pippalâda replies that Prajâpati produced them by means of austerity. Prajâpati is the universal soul, the union of the sun and moon, the year, the father moving with five feet, measuring the five seasons, and Prajâpati is the same as Brahma. The meaning seems to be that even Prajâpati could not obtain what he desired without what is called austerity, and the conclusion is, that men who

"practise austerity, the duties of a Brahma-student, and in whom truth dwells," will obtain the world of Brahma.

"That world of Brahma, which is free from dust (decay), will be the share of them in whom there is no crookedness, no lie, no delusion."[1]

The second pupil asks, "How many deities (organs) uphold the creature (the body), and which of them is the greatest?" The answer indicates that "the principal life" supports all, the "principal life" being the same with Prajâpati and Brahma. When the principal life goes out (of the body) all the others, the senses, go out, and when it remains, all the others remain: "as all the bees go out when their king goes out, and as all remain when he remains." And then, regarding life as the same with Prajâpati, the teacher concludes his discourse in the following words:

"All that (is here on earth) and all that is in the third heaven, is placed under the sway of life. Like a mother her children, protect us, grant us prosperity and wisdom."[2]

The third disciple asks, "Whence is born this life, how does it enter this body, how does it abide, how does it go out, how does it maintain (its) external relation, and how its relation to itself (to the soul)?"

Pippalâda says that these are difficult questions, but that, as the pupil is "a great enquirer after Brahma, he will explain."

"From the soul is born this life. As a shadow (is cast) by man, so this (life) is expanded upon that (Brahma, the cause). By the action of the mind it enters into this body.

"As a king commands his officers to govern these or those villages, so ordains life the other vital airs to separate work."

Some details follow about descending air, and equalising air,

[1] Bibliotheca Indica, vol. xv. pp. 123ff. [2] Ibid, pp. 127—129.

and ascending air, and 72,000 branches of arteries, and the chapter concludes with the following memorial verse:

"Whoever knows the origin, the entrance, the locality, and the five-fold power of life, enjoys immortality; whoever knows this enjoys immortality."

This is the same as saying that knowledge of Brahma secures immortality.

Then Gârgya, the grandson of Sûrya, says: "O venerable, which (organs) sleep in this body? Which are awake therein? Which among them is the god (the organ) who sees the dreams? Upon whom are all (those organs) founded?"

Pippalâda answers: "As all the rays of the sun, when setting, become one in that disc of light, and as they are dispersed when he again and again rises, so this all (produced by the organs and their objects) becomes one in the highest god (sense), in the mind (at the time of sleep). Therefore, at that time the soul (Purusha) does not hear, nor see, nor smell, nor taste, nor touch; it does not speak . . . . it even sleeps."

Some fanciful remarks follow, showing that inspiration and expiration are two oblations which lead the sacrificer day by day to Brahma.

"Then that god (the mind) enjoys dream power. Whatever has been seen he sees again; he hears again all the objects that have been heard; he enjoys again and again what has been enjoyed (by him) in other countries and places. What is visible (in the present birth) and invisible (in another birth), what is heard and not heard, what is enjoyed and not enjoyed, all is beheld, all is beheld by the one who is all."

In deep sleep that god of the mind does not see dreams.

"As the birds, O beloved one, repair to a tree to dwell there, so indeed this all repairs to the supreme soul."

"For he is the beholder, the toucher, the hearer, the smeller, &c.; the being whose nature is knowledge, the spirit (Purusha), He is founded on the supreme indestructible soul.

"The supreme, indestructible (being) is obtained. Whoever, O beloved one, knows this (being) which is without shadow, without body, without colour . . . . indestructible becomes omniscient."

And then Pippalâda concludes with the following sentence:—

"Whoever, O beloved one, knows the indestructible (soul) on which (the being) whose nature is knowledge, together with all the gods, the vital airs and the elements are founded, gets omniscient, penetrates all."[1]

The fifth disciple asks: "Which of the worlds gains he who among men has unceasingly (tad) meditated on the word 'Om,' until his departure from life?" The answer is, that "the supreme and the inferior Brahma are both the word 'Om;' and it is explained that if 'Om' is meditated upon in its parts, the knowledge of Brahma being incomplete, the man so meditating will be born again; but if Om is meditated upon as a whole, Brahma will be known in his absolute nature;" and then "as the snake is liberated from his skin," so gets he "liberated from sin." And in the concluding memorial verse it is said that the wise obtains by the word Om, "even the highest (Brahma) who is without strife, without decay, without death, without fear."[2]

The sixth disciple came, saying: "O venerable, a prince of Kosala once came to me, and said: 'Knowest thou the spirit of sixteen parts?' I said to the youth, 'I do not know him. If I knew him, why should I not tell thee? Whoever tells what

[1] Bibliotheca Indica, vol. xv. p. 133—136.

[2] Ibid, p. 139. The different meanings attached to the Sanskrit word Brahma may be perplexing for English readers. It assists one to bear in mind that Brahma, with the short final a, is the nominative sing. of the *neuter* noun Brahman, and this neuter Brahma is the supreme deity of Hindu philosophy. Brahmâ, with the long final a, is the nom. sing. of the masculine noun Brahman, and Brahmâ is the first god of the Hindu triad at which we have not yet arrived.

is not true, dries verily up together with his root; therefore I cannot tell what is not true.' Having in silence ascended his car, he went away. I ask thee about him, where does abide that spirit?"

Pippalâda replies, "O gentle (youth), in this internal body abides the spirit in whom these sixteen parts are produced." He then explains that these sixteen parts resemble "the flowing sea-going rivers," which, when they have reached the sea, are annihilated. The sixteen parts of the witness (soul) in like manner are annihilated when they have reached the soul, their names and forms perish, and only the name of soul remains.

"Let man know the spirit, who ought to be known, in whom the sixteen parts abide, as the spokes in the nave (of the wheel), in order that death may not pain you."

Pippalâda then dismisses his pupils, saying that thus far he knows the supreme Brahma, and nothing higher can be known. The pupils honoured him, and spoke:

"Thou art our father, who carries us over the infinite ocean of our ignorance. Salutation to the supreme Rishis, salutation to the supreme Rishis."

We next turn to an Upanishad which was translated into English by the late Rammohun Roy so early as the year 1816. We use, however, the later translation of Dr. Röer. The correct name appears to be Talavakâra, but it is commonly called Kena, from the word Kena, with which it commences. "The object of the Talavakâra-Upanishad," says Dr. Röer, "is simply to define the idea of Brahma as the one absolute spirit, and to show its distinction from the world. It does not attempt to investigate its relation either to the individual soul or spirit, or to the material world, but is satisfied to indicate the existence of those relations." [1]

The leading idea of the work appears to be, that man can

[1] Bib. Ind., vol. xv. p. 75.

never know God until he is conscious that it is impossible to know him. The pupil asks: "By whom appointed does the mind speed to its work?" "Which god assigns its function to the eye and ear, &c.?" The Guru answers:

"He who is the ear of the ear, the mind of the mind, the speech of speech, is verily the life of life, the eye of the eye. . . . .

"We do not recognise Brahma as anything perceptible . . . . it is different from what is known . . . . . it is also beyond what is not known. . . . . .

"Think that which is not manifested by speech, and by which speech is manifested, as Brahma, not what is worshipped as this (any individual being which is perceived).

"Know that which does not think by the mind, but by which the mind is thought, as Brahma.

"Know that which does not see by the eye, but by which the eyes see, as Brahma.

"Know that which does not hear by the ear, but that by which this ear is heard, as Brahma.

"Know that which does not breathe by breath, but that by which breath is breathed, as Brahma, and not what is worshipped as this."

The second section enlarges on the misleading effect of an imaginary knowledge of Brahma. In a note Dr. Röer refers to remarks by the celebrated Sankara-Achârya on this passage, in which he refers with approval to the decision of the school of the Vedânta as given in the words, "He is even different from what is known; he is also beyond what is not known."

This second section commences thus:

"If thou thinkest, I know well (Brahma), (I say) what thou knowest of the nature of Brahma is little indeed. . . . . Whosoever amongst us knows *tat* (that word) 'I do not know, that I do not know him,' knows him.

"By him who thinks that Brahma is not comprehended, Brahma is comprehended; he who thinks that Brahma is comprehended, does not know him. . . . .

"If he is known to be the nature of every thought, he is comprehended."

The concluding sections illustrate this by telling that the gods Agni, Vâyu, and Indra were once victorious over their enemies without being aware that Brahma was the cause of their victory. "They reflected, to us belongs this victory." To cure them of this delusion, Brahma made himself manifest. None of the gods knew him, but begged Agni to ascertain whether the being they beheld was worthy of adoration. Agni ran up to him. Brahma said, "Who art thou?" He answered, "I am verily Agni; I am verily Jâtaveda." Brahma asked, "What power hast thou?" Agni replied, "I can burn whatsoever there is on earth." A blade of grass was placed before him; but Agni could not burn, and returned, saying that he could not ascertain "whether that being was worthy of adoration."

The same thing happened with Vâyu, the wind, who said he could sweep away whatsoever was on earth; but when told to sweep away the blade of grass, he could not.

The gods then spoke to Indra, saying, "Maghavan, do thou ascertain whether this being is worthy of adoration." But when Indra approached, Brahma disappeared; and he was met by a woman, who said to him, "It is Brahma. Verily, you all obtained victory through Brahma."

Indra did not show self-reliance, for knowledge showed him that from Brahma alone came power and victory.

One of the best known Upanishads is the Katha, translated by Rammohun Roy about the year 1816, and in 1853 by Dr. Röer, who, in his Introduction, praises its "elevation of thought, depth of expression, beauty of imagery, and ingenuous fervour." "The lofty conception," he continues, "by which, in its introductory legend, Death is made to give a reply to the highest questions the human mind can propose to itself, the enthusiasm and intimate conviction which Nachiketas shows about the infinite superiority of what is good to the pleasures of the world, and the firmness which he maintains amidst all the

allurements that are placed before him, bears some resemblance to the energy of mind with which Plato, in the first and second books of his 'Republic,' shows that justice has an incomparable worth, and ought to be preserved under any circumstances.[1]

Of the form of the composition, viewed philosophically, Dr. Röer does not give the same praise, finding a want of connexion between the thoughts, &c., but he admits that on close examination it is so arranged as to answer the questions to which Hindu philosophers were ever seeking a solution, viz., "What is the highest object of man? What is the last (or ultimate) cause of the world? and, How do we know of it?"[2]

Before giving an abstract of this Upanishad, in which Yama is a prominent personage, it will be interesting to look back to the conceptions of Yama expressed in Vedic hymns. Yama is there addressed as one of the Pitris (or souls of departed ancestors) who are supposed to be able to place the worshipper "in that imperishable and unchanging world where perpetual light and glory are found;" this being the realm in which king Vaivaswata (or Yama) dwells. The blessings anticipated in the "shining regions" (of Vaivaswata) were much the same as those which had been enjoyed on earth, as, by offering a black-footed sheep, the worshipper "ascends to the sky, where no tribute is paid by the weak to the stronger."[3] But in the Upanishads, Yama becomes a distinct personage, and has, as we shall find, a kingdom over which his authority is unlimited.

The Katha-Upanishad commences thus:

"Once desirous (of heaven) the son of Vâjâsrava (Gautama) gave away all his property. He had a son, Nachiketas by name.

"When the presents were brought, filial anxiety penetrated the youth. He thought:

"'He who gives to attending priests (bad cows or) such cows as are

[1] Bibliotheca Indica, vol. xv. p. 91.
[2] Ibid, p. 91.
[3] Muir, in J. R. A. S., vol. i. (New Series) p. 300. Yama, and the Doctrine of a Future Life.

no longer able to drink water or to eat grass, and are incapable of giving further milk, or of producing young, is carried to that mansion where there is no felicity whatever.'"

Thus reflecting, with a view of averting such misery, he asked his father to give *him* in lieu of the cows, saying, "To whom, O father, wilt thou consign me, in lieu of these cows?" The father, making no reply, the son repeated the question a second and third time. Then the father, impatient and angry, said, "To Yama (god of Death) I will give thee." The son is astonished, but submits; whereas the father is greatly grieved at his own hasty word, and most unwilling to part with his son. The son, however, persuades him that a promise must be fulfilled; and to the house of Yama he goes. When he arrived, Yama was absent; and for three days Nachiketas remained without food or water. So soon as Yama returned, he hastens to repair the neglect, and desires his guest to choose three boons in compensation for the three nights during which he had received no hospitality. Nachiketas is readily conciliated, and makes it his first request that his father's distress may be removed and his anger extinguished. Being satisfied upon this point, he next begs for that knowledge respecting fire, by which heaven is attained, where there is no fear, and "where even thou, Yama, canst not always exercise thy dominion." Yama consents, and proceeds to explain the nature of that fire, which is prior to all creatures. He tells of the bricks which are deposited every day after the fire-offering, and shows the number of ceremonies to be performed during the year; and Yama, pleased with the manner in which this instruction is received, says:

"I grant thee now another boon. After thy name shall be named that fire. Take also this many-coloured chain."

Nachiketas' third request was to be instructed in the nature of the soul. Yama objects, saying, "Even gods have doubted

and disputed on this subject, for it is not easy to understand it, so subtle is its nature. Choose another boon, O Nachiketas. Do not compel me to this; release me from this." But Nachiketas cannot be persuaded to think any other boon worth asking. Yama offers sons and grandsons who may live a hundred years, herds of cattle, elephants, gold, and horses, the wide-expanded earth. Nachiketas replies:

"(All those enjoyments) are of yesterday; they wear out, O thou end of man. . . . . . With thee remain thy horses and the like, with thee dance and song.

"Man rests not satisfied with wealth . . . . the boon which I have to choose is what I said. . . . . Nachiketas asks for no other boon but that (concerning the soul) of which the knowledge is hidden."

This closes the first chapter, or, as it is called, Vallî, literally "creeper." The second chapter gives the discourse of Yama, saying that what is good is different from what is pleasant. They both enchain man, but have different objects. "Blessed is he who between them takes the good." The knowledge of things that are pleasant is ignorance. "Those who live in the midst of ignorance, but fancy themselves wise and learned, go round and round with erring step, deluded, as blind people lead by one blind." After reflecting on the transient and the permanent, he allows that Nachiketas is as "a house whose door is open for Brahma." Whereupon Nachiketas says: ("Then) make known to me the (being) which thou beholdest, different from virtue, different from vice, different from this whole of effects and causes." Then Yama says it is Om, and continues: "This sound means Brahma, this sound means the supreme. Whoever knows this sound obtains whatever he wishes." It seems to be taken for granted that Nachiketas will be aware that Om, Brahma, and the soul are identical. Yama proceeds:

"The knowing (soul)[1] is not born, nor does it die. It was not pro-

[1] Bibl. Ind., vol. xv. p. 106.

duced from any one, nor was any produced from it. Unborn, eternal, without decay, ancient as it is, it is not slain, although the body is slain.

"If the slayer thinks I slay, if the slain thinks I am slain, then both of them do not know well.

"The soul which is subtler than what is subtle, greater than what is great, is seated in the cavity of the living being.

"He who is free from desire, and without grief, beholds by the tranquillity of his senses that majesty of the soul.

"Sitting, it goes afar; sleeping, it goes everywhere. Who else (therefore) save myself is able to comprehend the God who rejoices and not rejoices?

"Thinking the soul as unbodily among the bodies, as firm among the fleeting things, as great and all-pervading, the wise casts off all grief."

The third chapter treats of the "two souls," or of the relation of man's soul to Brahma, the universal soul.

"The indestructible Brahma is the place where all fear disappears, the refuge of those who are desirous of crossing (the ocean of the world).

"Know the soul (the embodied soul) as the rider, the body as the car, know intellect as the charioteer, and mind again as the reins.

"They say the senses are the horses, and their objects are the roads. The enjoyer is (the soul) endowed with body, sense, and mind.

"Whoever is unwise with reins never applied has the senses unsubdued, like wicked horses of the charioteer.

"But whosoever is wise with the mind always applied, has those senses subdued like good horses of the charioteer.

"Whoever is unwise, unmindful, always impure, does not gain that goal, but descends to the world again.

"But whosoever is wise, mindful, always pure, gains the goal, from whence he is not born again.

* * * * * * *

"Higher than the senses are their objects; higher than their objects is the mind; higher than the mind is intellect; higher than intellect is the great soul.

* * * * * * *

"Let the wise subdue his speech by mind, subdue his mind by that nature which is knowledge, subdue his knowledge by the great soul, subdue this also by the placid soul.

"Arise, awake, get the great (teachers), and attend. The wise say that the road to him is (as) difficult to travel over as the sharp edge of a razor.

"Whoever has understood (the nature of Brahma), which is without sound, without touch, without form, which does not waste, which is eternal, without smell, without beginning and without end, higher than the great one (intellect), which is firmly based, escapes from the mouth of death."

The end of this third chapter was, Professor Weber considers, originally the end of the Katha-Upanishad. The second part consists, he observes, almost entirely of Vedic quotations. The language is different; the name Nachiketas is spelt Nâchiketa, and one perceives, indeed, it has very much the character of an addition.

The fourth chapter further describes the universal soul, or Brahma, and the fifth chapter speaks of the body as like a town with eleven gates through which the soul enters. The soul dwells in the heavens as Hansa, a name for the sun, or in the wind, as Vasu, a name for the god of the wind, or it sits as a dwarf in the middle of the ether of the heart. The soul is as the one fire which, entering the world, becomes of every nature to every nature. It is the internal soul of all beings, and is "as the one sun, the eye of the whole world."

The last and most important Upanishad is the Chhândogya, or that relating to the chanters of the Sâma-Veda; it is accordingly appended to the Sâma-Veda. For an English translation the European reader is indebted to the distinguished Bâbû Râjendralâl Mitra, one of the most learned and laborious Hindu scholars of our days.[1]

[1] Chhândogya-Upanishad of Sâma-Veda, translated by Râjendralâl Mitra. Calcutta, 1854. For several reasons it is judged probable that this Upanishad is of later date than those already mentioned.

Its opening word is "Om." "This letter, the Udgîtha," it states, "should be adored." Om is thus identified with Udgîtha, "chanting," because the Udgâtris, who chant, commence their chants with Om. The two first sections dilate upon the potency of Udgîtha, meaning "Om," properly enunciated. When the Asuras assailed the Devas, the Devas were protected by Udgîtha, and the Asuras were in consequence destroyed "as an earthen ball is destroyed when hit against an impregnable rock." Section II. of the first chapter ends thus:

"He, who knowing it thus, adores this undecaying Udgîtha, becomes the (most successful) solicitor (of boons). This is spiritual (worship.")

Continuing the same subject, we are told in Section IV. of the same chapter that the Devas, dreading death, shielded themselves with the hymns of the three Vedas; but this was not sufficient protection, for—

"As fishermen look at fish in water, so did Death behold them in the Rig-, Yajur-, and Sâma-hymns. They, apprised of it, forsaking the Vedas, of a truth betook themselves to the asylum of Voice (Swara)."

Which is immediately explained to be another mode of expressing Om.

After further discourse upon Udgîtha, and the component parts of which the word is formed, a story is told of—

"Ushasti, son of Chakra, who, with his virgin wife, forsaking Kuru, lived in great distress in a village inhabited by an elephant-driver.

"Of him he begged food. . . . . . The elephant-driver said, I have none other than what you see before me."

Ushasti did not scruple to eat, because he said, "I cannot live without eating," but he would not drink, because "drink" he could "command at pleasure;" and to "swallow the remnant of another's drink" was against his principles. The remnant of the beans he gave his wife, and she put it aside for future use.

"In the morning, rising from his bed, he said, 'Alas! if I could (now) obtain a little food, I could earn some wealth. A king is performing a sacrifice in the neighbourhood, he would surely employ me.'

"His wife said to him, 'Here are the beans; eat, and proceed quickly to the sacrifice.'

"Having arrived, he took his seat in front of the chanters of the Udgîtha, and thus addressed them:—

"'O chanters of praise, should ye eulogise Him who is the presiding deity of all praise, without knowing His nature, your heads would be lopped off.'"

These words were repeated to each division of the choir. Then the king, who instituted the sacrifice, expressed a wish to know him; and hearing that he was Ushasti, son of Chakra, said that he had been seeking for him, and would wish him at once to give instruction.

Ushasti then endeavours to teach them, who is the deity, "who is the presiding deity of all praise." He is life—he is Aditya, the sun, and he is aliment (Anna).

In Section XIII. of the first chapter we find some curious praise of inarticulate sounds as assisting the melody of chants. In a note of Râjendralâl Mitra it is said, that "Each of the Vedas has its appropriate sounds; . . . . but instead of being placed at the end of a stanza, like the tol di rol of old English songs, they are introduced promiscuously in every part of the hymns. Whenever a word happens to be lengthened out to double or treble time, it is followed by one or more Hái Háu, or some such phonetic particles."[1] We meet again with remarks on the musical system in Section XXII. of the second chapter, where a chanter says:—

"'I wish for the taurine-toned Sâma hymn, the canticle of Agni, which contributes to the weal of animals.' The hymns of the *anirukta*-tone belong to Prajâpati; those of the *nirukta*-tone to Soma; those of the mild sweet tone to Vâyu; those of the sweet high-pitched tone to Indra; those of the tone resembling the voice of the crane to Brihas-

[1] Page 31 of Râjendralâl Mitra's translation.

pati; and to Varuna those of the tone of a broken piece of bell-metal: they are all to be practised; the hoarse-toned alone to be avoided."[1]

In a note the learned translator observes, that these tones "evidently relate to the seven tones of a gamut."

The following gives a sketch of a Hindu performing daily worship:—

"Before the reading of the matin chant (prâtar-anuvâk), sitting down behind the household fire (gârhapatya agni), with his face to the north, he singeth the Sâma hymn relating to the Vasus:—

"'Unfold the gates of this earth, that we may behold thee for our supremacy.'

"Then doth he offer the oblation to fire, as 'Salutations be to Agni, the receptacle of the earth, and the support of regions. Secure a region for me, the institutor of the sacrifice. I will secure it after death. . . . . . Cast aside the bars.'" . . . . .

"Before the commencement of the mid-day ceremony he sits behind the Agnidhrîya fire, and facing the north, sings the Sâma in praise of the Rudras, saying:—

"'Unfold the gates of (yonder) region, that we may behold thee for our supremacy.' . . . . . . 'I salute the winds who abide in the sky, and are the supports of regions.'"

"Before the commencement of the afternoon ceremony, sitting behind the Ahavanîya fire, with his face to the north, he singeth the Sâma in praise of the Suns and the Viswadevas (saying):

"'Unfold the gates of (yonder) region, that we may behold thee for our heavenly supremacy!' . . . . 'I salute the Suns and the Viswadevas, the dwellers of heaven and the supporters of regions.'"

The third chapter compares the sun to honey, and it alludes to "the Itihâsa and the Purâna," which is noteworthy, as it "would indicate the existence of some Itihâsa and Purâna, long anterior to the time when the extant compositions bearing those names were first compiled."[3]

After much discourse upon sun-worship, we are told that for him "who possesseth knowledge of Brahma, there is neither

[1] Page 41. [2] Page 51. [3] Page 53, *note*.

rising nor setting of the sun,—for him there is one eternal day." This knowledge was explained by Brahmâ to Prajâpati, by Prajâpati to Manu, by Manu to his descendants, one of whom was the present Guru Uddâlaka Aruna. The sun, the moon, fire, cloud, and wind, are said to be the five door-keepers of heaven. "Heroes are born in his family, who knows these five venerable beings to be the door-keepers of heaven." And then follows the most important passage of the treatise.[1]

"All this, verily, is Brahma; for therefrom doth it proceed, therein doth it merge, and thereby is it maintained. With a quiet and controlled mind should it be adored. Man is a creature of reflection: whatever he reflects upon in this life, he becomes the same hereafter; therefore, he should reflect (upon Brahma) saying:—

"'That which is nothing but mind, whose body is its life, whose figure is a mere glory, whose will is truth, ... is the soul within me. It is lighter than a grain of corn, or the seed of barley, mustard, or canary.

"'That which performeth all things, and willeth all things, to which belong all sweet odours and all grateful juices, which envelopes the whole of this (world), which neither speaketh nor respecteth any body, is the soul within me. It is Brahma; I shall obtain it after my transition from this world.' He who believeth this, and hath no hesitation, will verily obtain the fruit of his reflection. So said Sândilya."[2]

Section XIX. of the third chapter gives the often-repeated idea, that "Verily at first all this was non-existent; non-existence became existent; it developed,—it became an egg; it remained (quiet) for a period of one year; it burst in two; thence were formed two halves of gold and silver. The silver half is the earth, and the golden half the heaven."[3]

The fourth chapter gives a story about Jânasruti, "the charitably-disposed, the giver of large gifts, and the preparer of much food; who built houses everywhere that (people) from all

[1] Page 59. [2] Page 60. [3] Page 65.

sides might come and feast (therein)." We are then told of a conversation which took place between some geese, or more probably flamingoes, who passed over the house of Jânasruti one night. The last bird said to the first, "The glory of Jânasruti is as wide-spreading as the heaven. Have nothing to do with him, so that his glory may not destroy thee." The other answers. "Who is he, to whom you compare Rakvya of the car?" And being called upon to explain, says, that he is alluding to a being to whom the fruits of all the good deeds of mankind become subservient, in the same way in which all the minor numbers become due to him who hath secured the Krita or the highest cast of the dice."

This conversation was heard from beneath by Jânasruti, and in the morning, when his bards began to eulogise him, he said to his herald: "O child, do you address me as if I were Rakvya of the car?" And protesting that he did not deserve such praise, he desired the bard to seek out Rakvya, and say that he longed to see him. The bard returns, saying, "I have found him not." The king then bids him go and look for him where the knowers of Brahma are to be met with. And this, says the Hindu commentator, would be "in lonely places near rivers and pools, in mountains or in groves." The hint sufficed, and Rakvya was soon discovered, "sitting beside a car scratching his itches." Upon this, Jânasruti went to him and said, "O Rakvya, here (is a present) of six hundred head of cattle, a necklace, and a chariot yoked with a pair of mules; accept them, and deign, O Lord, to impart to me instruction on that deity whom thou adorest." The present was not accepted until a thousand cows and a damsel were offered; but then, accepting the damsel, Rakvya explained the nature of the deity he adored.[1]

The next story is of the son of a woman named Jabâlâ, who longed to become a Brahmachârin or pupil, and live beside a Guru. But Jabâlâ could not tell her son who was his father, or

[1] Pages 66—68.

to what gotra he belonged. The young man is, however, so far favoured that he is permitted to live in the house of a Guru, and he is so successful in tending his Guru's cattle, that under his care four hundred lean and weakly cows multiplied to a thousand. Nevertheless, the holy man will not accept him as a pupil or answer his questions. Thereupon a bull instructs him, and says, because he cannot show that he was well born, that Agni will give him further knowledge. "When night arrived he lighted a fire, folded the cattle, placed fuel on the fire, and sat behind it, facing the east." Each night Agni, the hero, instructed him. At length he returned to the house of the Guru. For twelve years he carefully tended his household fires. But although other pupils, after much shorter periods of service, obtained leave to return to their homes, indulgence was refused to this unfortunate Satyakâma, the son of Jabâlâ. Then the wife of the Guru pleaded: "This exhausted Brahmachârin has successfully attended the household fires; let not the fires upbraid thee; explain to him (what he wants)." But the Guru, without condescending to grant the explanation, went out on his pilgrimage. Then the youth fell sick and abstained from food, and the wife of the Guru tried, ineffectually, to persuade him to eat. Then the Fires undertook to complete his knowledge. When the Guru returned he was amazed, and said: "Child, your appearance shines like that of the knowers of Brahma: who has given thee instruction?" And finding that the Fires had thought him worthy to hear of Soul, he also ventures to speak about Soul, even to this son of Jabâlâ, of doubtful pedigree. One of the illustrations used is that the Sâma (Veda) corrects the Yajna as gold is corrected by borax, silver by gold, tin by silver, lead by tin, iron by lead, and wood by iron or leather.[1]

In the third section of the fifth chapter, we have a story of a king of Panchâla, who possessed knowledge concerning the future state, of which a Brâhman of the Gautama-gotra was ignorant.

[1] Page 79.

The king feels troubled at being asked to teach a Brâhman, but says, "Since you have so inquired, and inasmuch as no Brâhman ever knew it before, the Kshatriyas alone have the right of imparting instruction on this subject;" and then he consents to communicate that which he knows. The most remarkable part of this instruction is transmigration. "He whose conduct is good quickly attains to some good existence, such as that of a Brâhman, or Kshatriya, or a Vaisya,—he who is viciously disposed soon assumes the form of some inferior creature, such as that of a dog, a hog, or a Chandâla."[1]

In this discourse occurs a description of the universal soul, often quoted:—

"Verily, of that all-persuading soul, the heaven is the head, the sun is the eye, the wind is the breath, the sky is the trunk, the moon is the fundament, and the earth is the feet. The altar is his breast, the sacrificial grass his hair, the Gârhapatya fire his heart, the Anvâhârya-pachana fire his mind, and the Ahavanîya fire his face."[2]

The sixth chapter tells us of Swetaketu, son of Aruni. To him, his father said,[3] "O Swetaketu, go and abide as a Brahmachârin in the house of a tutor, for verily, child, none of our race has neglected the Vedas and thereby brought disgrace on himself." After twelve years the youth returns, being then in the twenty-fourth year of his age. But his father finds him a vain-minded youth, confident of his knowledge of the Vedas, and proud, and says to him, "Have you inquired of your tutor about that which makes the unheard-of heard, the unconsidered considered, and the unsettled settled?" He then proceeds to show that all existence is one. In the course of his explanation he uses some striking illustrations, as—

"Bring me a fruit of the Nyagrodha tree (the banyan, the largest known tree). Break it; what do you perceive? Some very small

[1] Page 92. [2] Pages 96, 97. [3] Page 100.

seeds. Break one; what do you perceive in it? Nothing, my Lord. My child, where you perceive nothing, there dwells a mighty Nyagrodha."

And again: "Dissolve this salt in water. Taste a little from the top, from the middle, from the bottom. How is it?"—"It is saltish," replied the son. To him said his father: "Such is the case with truth; though you perceive it not, it pervades this body. That particle which is the soul of all this is truth."[1]

The seventh chapter[2] relates that "Nârada repaired to Sanatkumâra for instruction. He was required to say how much he already knew. The list is formidable; including four Vedas, and the Itihâsas and Purânas, the rites of the Pitris, arithmetic, knowledge of the stars, the science of serpents, &c."[3] But he adds, "I only know the words or mantras, not the spirit (thereof). I have heard that the worldly-afflicted can find relief through men like your lordship." The reply is, "All that you have learnt is name."

A discourse is then given on speech,[4] which is greater than name; on mind, which is greater than speech; on will, which is greater than mind;—shewing that these and other powers are Brahma.

As we shall have occasion to touch again upon these metaphysical distinctions, when discussing the systems of philosophy, we will only allude here to the praise given to quietude.

"He who has reverence acquires faith; the reverent alone possesses faith.

"He who can control his passions possesses reverence. The man of rampant passions can never have reverence. The quiet alone can have reverence.

"That quietude, O Lord, said Nârada, is sought by me."[5]

[1] Page 114.

[2] In this chapter Gandhâra is referred to as a province, and ordeal by fire is mentioned.

[3] Muir, Orig. Sanskrit T., vol. iii. pp. 186, 187, has also translated this passage.

[4] Chhândogya Upanishad, translated by Râjendralâla Mitra, p. 118.

[5] Ibid, p. 128.

The conclusion is, the man who knoweth this confronts not death nor disease,[1] nor doth he meet with pain and suffering. "Thus did Sanatkumâra explain what is beyond darkness. Hence is this portion of the Upanishad called his section[1],—hence is it called his section."[1]

[1] Page 131.

CHAPTER VIII.

INTRODUCTION TO HINDU PHILOSOPHY.

Hindu philosophy is not precisely the same as what we understand by European philosophy. It does not search for abstract truth, but rather by a mingling of philosophic, mystical, and religious speculation seeks to solve the deep mysteries of existence. Indulgence in such speculation is one of the oldest and strongest characteristics of the Hindu mind. Even in the hymns of the Rig-Veda we meet with the beginnings of this philosophic thought. The ancient Rishis ask searching questions concerning the origin of the world and the nature of man. "Viswakarman," they say, "produced the earth and disclosed the sky." And Viswakarman is "One who dwells beyond the abode of the seven Rishis;" whilst, further, Purusha created the seven Rishis, and the seven Rishis created the world. Dwelling "beyond the abode of the seven Rishis," was therefore an indication of eternal, uncreated existence.

Another name used in the hymns to indicate the One Eternal, is Brihaspati; and on the Eternal, whether called Viswakarman, Brihaspati, Brahman, Atman, or Paramâtman, the ancient Hindu poets and philosophers ever fix their earnest gaze. This One Eternal they felt to be the Universal Soul; and the soul of man,

although apparently separate, they felt to be, in reality, the same —the Universal Soul. The distinction upon which they chiefly dwell, is the calm tranquillity and rest of the Universal Soul as contrasted with the restless, changeable condition of the individual soul.

And although man's individual soul is distinct from Brahma, it is only by the presence of Brahma within him that man sees, hears, smells, speaks. When Brahma departs, all departs.

Knowledge of one's self, knowledge of the sixty-four sciences, and so forth, lead on to knowledge of Brahma.

"From the unreal lead me to the real, from darkness lead me to light, from death lead me to immortality," are the words of one of their prayers.

A continual effort is made to understand the relation of man's nature to God's nature.

"Higher than the senses are their objects, higher than their objects is the mind;" but the highest is the Great Soul, and to become merged in the Great Soul, is presented as the goal attained by him who is wise and pure: . . . . . he who attains "this goal is not born again."

This important doctrine, that the Supreme Soul is the only reality, and that the world has no claim to notice, except in so far as it emanated from this "reality," is, Professor Goldstücker considers, clearly laid down in the Upanishads; and indeed, he finds in these works the germs of all the "philosophies." First, man distinguished the eternal from the perishable; and next, he perceived within himself a germ of the Eternal. This discovery, says Professor Max Müller, "was an epoch in the history of the human mind, and the name of the discoverer has not been forgotten. It was Sândilya who declared that the Self within the heart was Brahma."[1]

The idea of an imperishable base, from which that which is

[1] A. S. L., p. 20.

manifest proceeds, and upon which alone it rests, consistently pervades all Hindu thought. More or less of personality is attributed to the eternal base, according either to the immediate object of the writer or to the stage of progress at which he had arrived.

To quote again from the valuable paper referred to above, the Upanishads "reveal the struggle of the Hindu mind to reach the comprehension of one supreme being. . . . . They advance sufficiently far to express their belief in such a being, but at the same time acknowledge the inability of the human mind to comprehend its essence."[1] Having recognised that man belongs both to the perishable world around him and to the eternal world "beyond," they next proceed to investigate the powers with which he is endowed, and to inquire how these powers, or faculties, could be made available for procuring escape from the perishable and the attainment of the eternal.

The result of this thought is embodied in the six philosophic systems of which we are now about to treat. Professor Wilson was much struck with the kindred spirit of these systems and that of the older Greek or Ionic schools. "The metempsychosis itself," he says, "is an important feature in this similitude, for this belief is not to be looked upon as a mere popular superstition; it is the main principle of all Hindu metaphysics—the foundation of all Hindu philosophy,"—the object of each system, whether Brahmanical or Buddhist, being "the discovery of the means of putting a stop to further transmigrations." And that such was also the leading principle of Pythagoras, is, he considers, well established.[2] The systems are all alike in making this their special aim, and they also agree that knowledge of truth is the effectual means by which to secure this end. But in their several definitions or representations of essential truth, we shall find considerable variation, according to the bias of each system.

[1] Chambers' Encyclo., art. "India." [2] Preface to Sânkhya-Kârikâ, p. x.

There are six systems, called Darsanas, into which the scattered thoughts of previous periods have been collected.

I. The Sânkhya System of Kapila, to which is appended—
II. The Yoga System of Patanjali.
III. The Nyâya System of Gotama, to which is appended—
IV. The Vaiseshika System of Kanâda.
V. The Pûrva-Mimânsâ, by Jaimini.
VI. The Uttara-Mimânsâ or Vedânta, by Vyâsa.

The "order" in which the systems first appeared is a question of difficulty, "because," Dr. Goldstücker observes, "we have no evidence that the Sûtras[1] of these systems are the same now as they were originally." And secondly, "because it has not yet been sufficiently ascertained to what extent one may have borrowed from the other, supposing the present shape to be the original one." He concludes, that probably besides the Upanishads, there were philosophical works which were more original, but less systematic, than those now preserved, and which served as the common source of the works which have come down to us as the six Darsanas. And thus their general concordance may be accounted for. Of these systems, the oldest in *thought* is the Sânkhya. Rest, or exemption from transmigration, we have observed to be the aim of all philosophy, each system inculcating that this is to be attained by knowledge of truth, according to its particular teaching. Kapila's scheme for attaining this knowledge is to look steadily at the whole united universe and recognise that man, and all which is created, is transitory; but that beyond the transitory is the eternal. And this is the knowledge which he seems to view as the key which unlocks for man the portal of the eternal. Sânkhya doctrine is a very wonderful effort at unravelling the deep mysteries of our existence. On one side, it exhibits the worthlessness of the perishable universe,

[1] For an explanation of the word sûtra, see p. 154.

including man, with all his powers and qualities. On the other side, it places imperishable Soul. The perishable portion of this division is fully and firmly dealt with, and has excited the admiration and interest of such men as Wilson, Ballantyne, &c. But concerning the Soul, or the imperishable portion of his subject, one feels that the author is reserved, or that he has more thoughts than he chooses to express. His silence on the subject of a Supreme Being has been supposed by some to imply atheism; and the Yoga system, which completes the Sânkhya, is said to have been written to correct the atheism of Kapila. But on the other hand, it is suggested that if, when the Yoga was written, the Sânkhya had been viewed as a system which denied God, it would not have been completed by so decided a theist as Patanjali. The Yoga doctrine is taught in four chapters, and these, in the best existing manuscripts, are named as forming part of Kapila's work, the Sânkhya-pravachana.[1]

Later than the Sânkhya, we have placed the Nyâya, of which the very name seems to imply that it is its counterpart. Sânkhya means, something analagous to speculation or synthetic reasoning. The word "comes from *Sankhyâ*," (*sam*, together, *khyâ*, reasoning,) indicating that it is philosophy, based on synthetic reasoning. The Nyâya, however, takes the other course, and gives philosophy founded on analytical reasoning. And thus, whilst the Sânkhya builds up a system of the universe, the Nyâya dissects it into categories, and "enters into its component parts."[2] "Entering into" appears to be the literal rendering of Nyâya, a word which aptly describes a system which "enters into" the whole contents of the universe. Gotama, the reputed author of this system, took special note of man's mental powers, and of the uses to which such powers may be applied; and to the unfailing interest attaching to such subjects, as also to the ability of

[1] For further interesting thought on this subject, *see* Westminster Review, October, 1862, p. 471.
[2] Goldstücker, Pânini, p. 151.

the author, may be attributed the yet-continued popularity of his work. The Vaiseshika system, attributed to Kanâda, is a fuller and probably later development of the Nyâya. It is remarkable for its peculiar doctrine of atomic individualities, or *viseshas,* from which its name is derived. The name of its author, Kanâda, comes, according to native authorities, from *Kana,* minute, and *âda,* eating.[1]

Mîmânsâ is the name given to the two last divisions of Hindu philosophy. They attribute implicit authority to Vedic writings. With the other systems, these writings are considered sacred; but the two Mîmânsâs refer to them as absolute Revelation.

The Pûrva-Mîmânsâ, or the interpretation of the prior part of the Vedas, viz., of the Sanhitâs and Brâhmanas, is devoted exclusively to questions purely Brahmanical, especially to those connected with the Brahmanical ceremonial; and it is therefore less interesting to European readers than the other systems. The Uttara-Mîmânsâ, or "the investigation of the latter" part of the Vedas, viz., the Aranyakas and Upanishads, is, on the other hand, the most universally attractive. The name by which this system is generally called is Vedânta, a compound of *veda* and *anta,* which means, literally, "the end or ultimate aim of the Vedas." Like the other systems, it seeks to emancipate man from transmigration, and like them, it teaches that this is to be effected by a proper understanding of truth; but the truth which it inculcates is not a duality of principles, as in the Sânkhya, nor a variety of topics, as in the Nyâya. The Vedânta simply teaches that the universe emanates in a successive development from Brahma or Paramâtman, Supreme Soul; that man's soul is identical in origin with the Supreme Soul; and that liberation, or freedom from transmigration, will be obtained so soon as man *knows* his soul to be one with the Supreme Soul.

We will now, as briefly as the case admits, endeavour to bring into view the essential character of each system.

[1] Chambers' Encyclo., art. "Vaiseshika."

CHAPTER IX.

THE SANKHYA AND YOGA SYSTEMS OF PHILOSOPHY.

Kapila's doctrine is taught in Sûtras, distributed in six lectures, and bears the title of Sânkhya-pravachana. To teach by means of aphorisms was the custom of the ancient Hindus, extreme brevity appearing to be the object; and this, it is suggested, may have originated when writing materials were scarce, and the pupil was required to retain the teacher's lesson in his memory. The aphorism was written on a leaf, usually a narrow leaf, such as the dried palm leaves on which, even to this day, works are either written in ink, or scratched with a stile. A pile of such leaves is called a Sûtra, from *siv,* to sew, the custom being to pass one or two long strings through the pile, to keep the whole together. It seems probable, therefore, that the name Sûtra does not imply a thread or string of rules, but merely refers to the mode by which the works were kept fit for use. The Sûtras or aphorisms are peculiarly brief, and pithy, so as absolutely to require a commentary to supply that which the voice of the teacher originally explained.[1]

[1] Chambers' Encyclopædia, art. "Sûtra."

Kapila's main position is, that "absolute prevention of all three sorts of pain is the highest purpose of soul." The three sorts of pain are "evil proceeding from self, from eternal beings, and from divine causes;" and deliverance from these evils, he maintains, is attainable by knowledge or discriminative acquaintance with the twenty-five tattwas, or true principles of all existence.

The first principle, or tattwa, is nature (prakriti), the last is soul (purusha), and the creation of the world is attributed to an involuntary union between nature and soul. Nature is, as it were, the actress, and soul the spectator. The twenty-five true principles, or *tattwas*, as evolved by nature, are thus explained:[1]

1. *Prakriti,* or *pradhâna,* substance or nature; the universal and material cause; eternal, undiscrete, inferrible from its effects; productive, but not produced.

2. *Mahat,* the great, or *buddhi,* the intellect, is produced by prakriti. It is the intellectual principle which appertains to individual beings.

3. *Ahankâra,* self-consciousness, is produced by buddhi. This principle is, literally, the assertion of "I," the function by which the objects of the world are referred to one's-self.

4—8 are five subtle particles perceptible to beings of a superior order, but unapprehended by the grosser senses of mankind. These are produced by ahankâra, or self-consciousness.

9—13. Five instruments of sensation, also produced by ahankâra, viz., the eye, the ear, the nose, the tongue, the skin.

14—18. Five instruments of action, as the hands, the feet, the organs of speech, and two other organs.

19. *Manas,* mind, or the organ of volition and imagination.

Mr. Colebrooke observes that the eleven organs of sense and action, "with the two principles of intelligence and conscious-

[1] Colebrooke, Misc. Ess. vol. i. p. 244. Johaentgen, Ueber das Gesetzbuch das Manu, pp. 6—7.

ness, are thirteen instruments of knowledge; three internal, and ten external, likened to three warders and ten gates."[1]

20—24. Five elements produced from the five subtile particles.

1. Akâsa, space or ether, which is the vehicle of sound.
2. Air;
3. Fire;
4. Water;
5. Earth.

25. *Purusha,* soul, which is neither produced nor productive. It is multitudinous, individual, sensitive, eternal, unalterable, and immaterial.

"The soul's wish is fruition or liberation." For this purpose it is invested with a subtile body composed of intellect, self-consciousness, the five subtile elements, and the eleven instruments of sensation, action, and volition.

"This subtile body is affected by sentiments, but being too subtile to be capable of enjoyment, it becomes invested with a grosser body, which is composed of the five gross elements." This grosser body is liable to death, but the subtile frame transmigrates through successive bodies, "as a mimic shifts his disguises to represent various characters."[2]

The Sânkhya teaches that nature possesses three essential *gunas,* or qualities, viz., *sattwa,* the quality of goodness or purity; *rajas* (lit. colouredness), the quality of passion; and *tamas,* the quality of sin or darkness. Virtue, knowledge, dispassionateness, and power, partake of goodness or purity.

This peculiar power, which is attained by intellect of the *good,* or *sattwa* quality, is called *aiswara.* Mr. Colebrooke describes it thus: "Power is eight-fold; consisting in the faculty

[1] Colebrooke, Misc. Ess. vol. i. p. 248; Sânkhya-Kârikâ, pp. 32—35.

[2] Goldstücker, in Chambers' Encyclopædia, art. "Sânkhya."

of shrinking into a minute form, to which everything is pervious; or enlarging to a gigantic body; or assuming levity (rising along a sunbeam to the solar orb); or possessing unlimited reach of organs (as touching the moon with the tip of a finger); or irresistible will (for instance, sinking into the earth as easily as in water); dominion over all beings, animate or inanimate; faculty of changing the course of nature; ability to accomplish everything desired." [1]

But all these advantages refer to man on earth. They exalt his condition, but cannot give the soul that "liberation" which is its desire. For this purpose it is essential that the third principle, *ahankâra,* (self-conciousness) should be annihilated. Ahankâra means referring existing objects to one's-self, but with this important understanding, that the doing so is based in error. Ahankâra is not, philosophically speaking, "egotism," but the notion of "*I,*" that is, of assuming that the external objects refer to one's-self; and as this usually becomes unduly exaggerated, the word *ahankâra* assumes the negative sense of "egotism," "pride," &c.[2]

When at last self-consciousness and its associates have learned the nothingness of all phenomena, including self, the process is complete; the three sorts of pain are precluded, the "subtile frame" and the "grosser frame" have fulfilled their purpose. Nature (prakriti) reposes, and man's soul returns to Brahma or Purusha, the universal fount of soul.

This scheme has been called atheistic by certain sections of philosophers, both Hindu and European; but the deeper thinkers and more learned students have regarded it as a philosophy, not as a theology. The leading idea of the Sânkhya is, in fact, to explain that which is within reach of the human mind, and to say as little as possible on what is incomprehensible. The Sânkhya bases intellect, and all that refers to mind, on what it calls

[1] Colebrooke, Misc. Ess. vol. i. p. 250.

[2] See *ante*, p. 149.

prakriti or nature, and neither denies nor asserts the influence of Purusha (universal soul).

Before proceeding to the exposition of Patanjali's Yoga, we will transcribe the much-approved summary of Kapila's "Sânkhya," which was given by Iswara Krishna, as the "Sânkhya-Kârikâ," or "memorial verses." This work has been edited by H. H. Wilson, accompanied by the translation of Mr. Colebrooke, and a commentary by Gaudapâda, which Professor Wilson himself translated into English; but the text alone will best suit the aims and limits of the present short work.

The Seventy-two Verses of the Sankhya Karika.

"1. The inquiry is into the means of precluding the three sorts of pain, for pain is embarassment; nor is the inquiry superfluous, because, although obvious means of alleviation already exist, absolute and final relief is not found to be thereby accomplished.

"2. The revealed mode is, like the temporal one, ineffectual, for it is impure; and it is defective in some respects, as well as excessive in others. A method different from both is preferable, consisting in a discriminative knowledge of perceptible principles, and of the imperceptible one, and of the thinking soul.

"3. Nature, the root (of all), is no production. Seven principles, the *great* or intellectual one, &c., are productions and productive. Sixteen are productions (unproductive). Soul is neither a production nor productive.

"4. Perception, inference, and right affirmation, are admitted to be threefold proof; for they (are by all acknowledged and) comprise every mode of demonstration. It is from proof, that belief of that which is to be proven results.

"5. Perception is attainment of particular objects. Inference, which is of three sorts, premises an argument and (deduces) that which is argued by it. Right affirmation is true revelation.

"6. Sensible objects become known by perception; but it is by inference (or reasoning) that acquaintance with things transcending the senses is obtained; and a truth which is neither to be directly perceived, nor to be inferred from reasoning, is deduced from revelation.

"7. From various causes things may be imperceptible (or unperceived); excessive distance, (extreme) nearness, defect of the organs, inattention, minuteness, interposition of objects, predominance of other matters, and intermixture with the like.

"8. It is owing to the subtilty (of nature), not to the non-existence of this original principle, that it is not apprehended by the senses, but inferred from its effects. Intellect, and the rest of the derivative principles, are effects; (whence it is concluded as their cause) in some respects analagous, but in others dissimilar.

"9. Effect subsists (antecedently to the operation of cause); for what exists not, can by no operation of cause be brought into existence. Materials, too, are selected which are fit for the purpose; everything is not by every means possible; what is capable does that to which it is competent; and like is produced from like.

"10. A discrete principle is causable, it is inconstant, unpervading, mutable, multitudinous, supporting, mergent, conjunct, governed. The indiscrete one is the reverse.

"11. A discrete principle as well as the chief (or indiscrete) one, has the three qualities; it is indiscriminative, objective, common, irrational, prolific. Soul is in these respects, as in those, the reverse.

"12. The qualities respectively consist in pleasure, pain, and dulness; are adapted to manifestation, activity, and restraint; mutually domineer; rest on each other; produce each other; consort together, and are reciprocally present.

"13. Goodness is considered to be alleviating and enlightening; foulness urgent and versatile; darkness heavy and enveloping. Like a lamp, they co-operate for a purpose (by union of contraries).

"14. Indiscriminativeness and the rest (of the properties of a discrete principle) are proved by the influence of the three qualities, and the absence thereof in the reverse. The indiscrete principle, moreover (as well as the influence of the three qualities,) is demonstrated by effect possessing the properties of its cause (and by the absence of contrariety).

"15. Since specific objects are finite; since there is homogeneousness; since effects exist through energy; since there is a parting (or issue) of effects from cause, and a re-union of the universe,—

"16. There is a general cause, which is indiscrete. It operates by means of the three qualities, and by mixture, by modification, as water; for different objects are diversified by influence of the several qualities respectively.

"17. Since the assemblage of sensible objects is for another's use; since the converse of that which has the three qualities, with other properties (before mentioned), must exist; since there must be superintendence; since there must be one to enjoy; since there is a tendency to abstraction:—therefore, soul is.

"18. Since birth, death, and the instruments of life are allotted severally; since occupations are not at once universal; and since qualities affect variously,—multitude of souls is demonstrated.

"19. And from that contrast (before set forth) it follows that soul is witness, solitary, bystander, spectator, and passive.

"20. Therefore, by reason of union with it, insensible body seems sensible; and though the qualities be active, the stranger (soul) appears as the agent.

"21. For the soul's contemplation of nature, and for its abstraction, the union of both takes place, as of the halt and the blind. By that union a creation is framed.

"22. From nature issues the great one, and hence egotism; and from this the sixteenfold set; from five among the sixteen proceed five elements.

"23. Ascertainment is intellect. Virtue, knowledge, dispassion, and power are its faculties, partaking of goodness. Those partaking of darkness are the reverse.

"24. Consciousness is egotism. Thence proceeds a twofold creation. The elevenfold set is one; the five elemental rudiments are the other.

"25. From consciousness, affected by goodness, proceeds the good elevenfold set; from it, as a dark origin of being, come elementary particles; both issue from that principle affected by foulness.

"26. Intellectual organs are the eyes, the ears, the nose, the tongue, and the skin; those of action are the voice, hands, feet, &c., &c.

"27. (In this set is) mind, which is both (an organ of sensation and of action). It ponders, and it is an organ, as being cognate with the rest. They are numerous, by specific modificâtion of qualities, and so are external diversities.

"28. The function of five, in respect to colour and the rest, is observation only. Speech, handling, treading, &c., are the functions of five (other organs).

"29. Of the three (internal instruments) the functions are their respective characteristics; these are peculiar to each. The common function of the three instruments is breath, and the rest of the five vital airs.

" 30. Of all four, the functions are instantaneous, as well as gradual, in regard to sensible objects. The function of the three (interior) is, in respect of an unseen one, preceded by that of the fourth.

" 31. The instruments perform their respective functions, incited by mutual invitation. The soul's purpose is the motive ; an instrument is wrought by none.

" 32. Instrument is of thirteen sorts. It compasses, maintains, and manifests. What is to be done by it is tenfold—to be compassed, to be maintained, to be manifested.

" 33. Internal instruments are three, external ten, to make known objects to those three. The external organs minister at time present; the internal do so at any time.

" 34. Among these organs the five intellectual concern objects specific and unspecific. Speech concerns sound. The rest regard all five objects.

"35. Since intellect, with the (other two) internal instruments, adverts to every object, therefore those three instruments are warders, and the rest are gates.

" 36. These characteristically differing from each other, and variously affected by qualities, present to the intellect the soul's whole purpose, enlightening it as a lamp.

" 37. Since it is intellect which accomplishes soul's fruition of all which is to be enjoyed, it is that again which discriminates the subtle difference between the chief principle (*pradhâna*) and soul.

" 38. The elementary particles are unspecific ; from these five proceed the five elements, which are termed *specific*, for they are soothing, terrific, or stupefying.

" 39. Subtile (bodies), and such as spring from father and mother, together with the great elements, are three sorts of specific objects. Among these the subtile bodies are lasting: such as issue from father and mother are perishable.

" 40. (Subtile body), primeval, unconfined, material, composed of intellect, with other subtile principles, migrates, else unenjoying; invested with dispositions, mergent.

" 41. As a painting stands not without a ground, nor a shadow without a stake, &c., so neither does subtile person subsist supportless, without specific (or unspecific) particles.

" 42. For the sake of soul's wish, that subtile person exhibits (before it), like a dramatic actor, through relation of means and consequence, with the aid of nature's influence.

"43. Essential dispositions are innate. Incidental, as virtue and the rest, are considered appurtenant to the instrument.

"44. By virtue is ascent to a region above; by vice descent to a region below; by knowledge is deliverance; by the reverse is bondage.

"45. By dispassion is absorption into nature; by foul passion, migration; by power, unimpediment: by the reverse, the contrary.

"46. This is an intellectual creation, termed *obstruction*, *disability*, *acquiescence*, and *perfectness*. By disparity of influence of qualities the sorts of it are fifty.

"47. There are five distinctions of obstruction; and, from defect of instruments, twenty-eight of disability; acquiescence is nine-fold; perfectness eight-fold.

"48. The distinctions of obscurity are eight-fold, as also those of illusion: extreme illusion is ten-fold; gloom is eighteen-fold, and so is utter darkness.

"49. Depravity of eleven organs, together with injuries of the intellect, are pronounced to be disability. The injuries of intellect are seventeen, by inversion of acquiescence and perfectness.

"50. Nine sorts of acquiescence are propounded; four internal, relating to nature, to means, to time, and to luck; five external, relative to abstinence from (enjoyment of) objects.

"51. Reasoning, hearing, study, prevention of pain of three sorts, intercourse of friends and purity (or gift), are perfections (or means thereof). The fore-mentioned three are curbs of perfectness.

"52. Without dispositions there would be no subtile person; without person there would be no pause of dispositions; wherefore a two-fold creation is presented, one termed *personal*, the other *intellectual*.

"53. The divine kind is of eight sorts; the grovelling is fivefold; mankind is single in its class. This, briefly, is the world of living beings.

"54. Above, there is prevalence of goodness; below, the creation is full of darkness; in the midst is the predominance of foulness, from Brahmâ to a stock.

"55. There does sentient soul experience pain, arising from decay and death, until it be relieved from its person; wherefore pain is of the essence (of bodily existence).

"56. This evolution of nature, from intellect to the special elements, is performed for the deliverance of each soul respectively; done for another's sake as for self.

"57. As it is a function of milk, an unintelligent (substance), to

nourish the calf, so it is the office of the chief (principle) to liberate the soul.

"58. As people engage in acts to relieve desires, so does the indiscrete (principle) to liberate the soul.

"59. As a dancer, having exhibited herself to the spectator, desists from the dance, so does nature desist, having manifested herself to soul.

"60. Generous nature, endued with qualities, does by manifold means accomplish, without benefit (to herself), the wish of ungrateful soul, devoid as he is of qualities.

"61. Nothing in my opinion is more gentle than nature; once aware of having been seen, she does not again expose herself to the gaze of soul.

"62. Verily, not any soul is bound, nor is released, nor migrates; but nature alone, in relation to various beings, is bound, is released, and migrates.

"63. By seven modes nature binds herself by herself; by one, she releases (herself) for the soul's wish.

"64. So, through study of principles, the conclusive, incontrovertible, one only knowledge is attained, that neither I am, nor is aught mine, nor do I exist.

"65 Possessed of this (self-knowledge), soul contemplates at leisure and at ease, nature, (thereby) debarred from prolific change, and consequently precluded from those seven forms.

"66. He desists, because he has seen her; she does so, because she has been seen. In their (mere) union there is no motive for creation.

"67 By attainment of perfect knowledge, virtue and the rest become causeless; yet soul remains awhile invested with body, as the potter's wheel continues whirling from the effect of the impulse previously given to it.

"68. When separation of the informed soul from its corporeal frame at length takes place, and nature in respect of it ceases, then is absolute and final deliverance accomplished.

"69. This abstruse knowledge, adapted to the liberation of soul, wherein the origin, duration, and termination of beings are considered, has been thoroughly expounded by the mighty saint.

"70. This great purifying (doctrine) the sage compassionately imparted to Asuri, Asuri taught it to Panchasikha, by whom it was extensively propagated.

"71. Received by tradition of pupils, it has been compendiously written in *Arya* metre by the piously-disposed Iswara Krishna, having thoroughly investigated demonstrated truth.

"72. The subjects which are treated in seventy couplets are those of the whole science, comprising sixty topics, exclusive of illustrative tales, and omitting controversial questions."

YOGA.

Yoga is the second division of the Sânkhya system. Its reputed author is Patanjali, a follower of Kapila, whose Sânkhya-Sûtra we have just been considering. His aim is the same as that of Kapila, viz., to teach men "to cast off ignorance;" the "means" insisted on being Yoga, concentration. But here we perceive the notable advance which the Yoga makes upon the Sânkhya system.[1] Patanjali requires the devotee not merely to distinguish between the illusion of phenomena and the eternity of soul, but he asserts that soul is Iswara, Lord or God, and that man's liberation is to be obtained by concentrating his attention on Iswara. The literal meaning of the word Yoga is junction, union, (from *yuj* Sanskrit, the Latin *jung*), which, in its philosophical sense, implies the union of the mind with the supreme soul. Patanjali accepts the twenty-five *Tattwas*, or "principles" announced by Kapila, and gives his own four *Padas*, or chapters, as the completion of the Sânkhya system.

Patanjali defines Iswara as "a particular Purusha, or spirit, who is untouched by afflictions, works, the result of works or deserts. . . . . in whom the germ of omniscience reaches its utmost limit, and whose appellation is Om, the term of glory." This word is to be muttered, and its sense is to be reflected upon, for from it comes the knowledge of Iswara. According

[1] Professor Goldstücker places the Yoga system later than the oldest Vedânta, and has no hesitation in declaring that Patanjali, the grammarian, was *not* the Patanjali who proclaimed the Yoga philosophy.—Chambers' Encyclopædia, art. "Yoga."

to Patanjali, man is kept apart from this supreme and infinite existence by various obstacles, such as his activity and restlessness. Yoga he explains to be "the hindering of the modifications of thinking;" by which he understands perception, inference, testimony, misconception, fancy, sleep, recollection. These must be hindered by a repeated effort to keep the mind in its unmodified state, or by dispassion, which is "the consciousness of having overcome all desires for objects that are seen (on earth), or are heard of (in Scripture)." [1]

Dispassion is conducive to meditation, is of different kinds, and may be attained either "impetuously" (in adopting various transcendent methods), or "by a devoted reliance on Iswara, the Lord." But in effectual meditation, Iswara must be thought of as Om; and this mysterious appellation must be continually repeated, and its sense reflected on, for from it comes the knowledge of Iswara, and the prevention of "the obstacles" which impede Yoga. Here follows an enumeration of obstacles, as "illness, apathy, doubt, listlessness about the accomplishment of meditation, want of exertion, attachment to worldly objects, erroneous perception, failure to attain any stage of meditation, or inability to continue in the state of meditation when it has been reached." [2]

The argument is, that liberation is procured by reliance on Iswara. Reliance on Iswara is obtained by knowledge. Knowledge comes from meditation, and therefore, as a matter of course, illness, apathy, doubt, listlessness, or any things which impede meditation, must be "obstacles" to the attainment of Yoga.

It is very remarkable that in the Yoga-Sûtras the existence of supreme spirit or universal soul is assumed as a recognised truth; and it is assumed as equally indisputable that the highest blessed-

[1] Chambers' Encyclopædia, art. "Yoga." Colebrooke, Misc. Ess. vol. ii. p. 251.
[2] Chambers' Enc., l. l.

ness of man consists in becoming united with this supreme spirit. Patanjali does not therefore labour to prove these truths, but to teach the means by which impediments to so blessed a union may be removed. These means include, for instance, concentration of thought or, "pondering over a single accepted truth," and the practice of benevolence.

When, by these and other exercises, the mind is liberated from worldliness, "qualities will have accomplished the object of spirit," and matter will disappear; and the mind, then becoming free from all lingering of the external world, and pure as crystal, will receive and hold, as in a mirror, the image of Iswara, the Lord.

We have now, in a few words, touched upon the essentials of the Yoga system. Its details chiefly refer to the "practices" by which Yoga is to be accomplished. In the second chapter of the Sûtras certain ceremonial and religious austerities are prescribed which must be performed, however, without desire of benefit; and by such "practices" it is asserted that pain and afflictions are removed. By afflictions, Patanjali understands ignorance or illusions, egotism or consciousness of separate existence, affection, aversion, and tenacity of life.[1]

Patanjali then makes a "special investigation into the nature of what is to be got rid of, of what is not to be got rid of, of what is constituted by the cause, and of what is the constitutive cause." Eight means, or eight stages in the process by which Yoga (or concentration) must be accomplished are then enumerated. These are forbearance (*yama*), religious observance (*niyama*), postures (*âsana*), regulation of the breath (*prânâyâma*), restraint of the senses (*pratyâhâra*), steadying of the mind (*dhâranâ*), contemplation (*dhyâna*), and profound meditation (*samâdhi*). Under the head *yama*, forbearance, there are five divisions: not doing injury to living beings, veracity, avoidance

1 Ward's View, vol. iv. p. 205. Chambers' Encyclopædia, l. l.

of theft, chastity, and non-acceptance of gifts. These five constitute the universal great duty. The second stage, called religious observance, has also five divisions. It comprises external as well as internal purity, cheerfulness, or contentment, austerity, muttering of Vedic hymns, and devoted reliance on the Lord.

The third stage of Yoga, viz., postures (*âsana*), is a very curious feature in the system. Patanjali defines these postures to be such as are at the same time "steady and comfortable," and then prescribes postures which to us at least would seem to be rigid and painful. It is, therefore, the duty of one who aspires to become a Yogin to acquire these postures by degrees, distracting his mind from the irksomeness to his body, by contemplating the wonders of the heavens. Perfection in preliminary postures prepares for the more difficult exercise of regulating the breath, called *prânâyâma*. This consists in suppression of the inspiration and expiration of the breath, and is a complicated and difficult accomplishment, which requires daily and persevering practice. It is said to be threefold, as, exhalation, inhalation, and suspension. Suspension of the breath is also called *kumbhaka*, from *kumbha*, a jar, because when the breath is suspended "the vital spirits are motionless as water in a jar." [1]

These extraordinary practices appear to have been prescribed by Patanjali, with an honest belief that they assisted man in disengaging his spirit from its connection with the body; but the strange effects they produced tempted impostors also to resort to them. Patanjali declares, for instance, that when a man is perfect in those profound meditations, or "steadyings of the mind," which are called collectively *samyama*, "restraining," he gains a knowledge of the past and future, a knowledge of the sounds of all animals, of all that has happened in his former births, of the thoughts of others, of the time of his own death, a

[1] Ward's View, vol. iv. p. 212. Chambers' Encyclo., s. v. "Yoga."

knowledge of all that exists in the different worlds, of stars and planets, of the structure of his own body.[1] Eight great powers are specially enumerated as powers which a Yogin will acquire, if he properly regulates and applies the *samyama*, or faculty of "restraining," viz., he will have the power of shrinking into the form of the minutest atom; that of assuming a gigantic body; that of becoming extremely light; that of becoming extremely heavy; that of unlimited reach of the organs (as touching the moon with the tip of the finger); that of irresistible will (as for instance, sinking into earth as easily as into water); that of perfect dominion over the inner organs of the body; and that of mastery over all beings, animate and inanimate.[2] These strange effects, attributed to Yoga practices, are the secret of the power which this doctrine has at all times exercised over the Hindu mind. Religious Hindus delight in believing that they can attain eternal blessings by austerities, and hypocrites and impostors delight in a system which leads to a belief in magic, palmistry, and all sorts of juggling. Within our own generation, most unaccountable powers are still attributed to Yogins. In an instance recorded by Professor Wilson, a Brahman appears to sit in the air wholly unsupported, and to remain so sitting, on one occasion for twelve minutes, on another for forty minutes.[3]

In a treatise by N. C. Paul (*i.e.* Navîna Chandra Pâla), published at Benares, in 1851, some of the strange phenomena of Yoga practices are explained. He refers to the cases in which human beings have allowed themselves to be buried for the space of a month, or even for forty days. They undergo a certain preparation, as prescribed in the Yoga-Sûtras, and this preparation, N. C. Paul endeavours to show, is founded on a careful observation of the nature and habits of hibernating animals.

[1] Chambers' Encyc., l. l.; Colebrooke, Misc. Ess. vol. ii. pp. 251, 252.

[2] Many of these powers are claimed by a devotee, in the drama of Mâlatî and Mâdhava. Act v. (Wilson's trans., vol ii. Calc. ed., p. 52.)

[3] Wilson's Essay on the Religious Sects of the Hindus. Works, i. p. 209. Asiatic Monthly Register for March, 1829.

The Sanskrit works in which Yoga doctrine is taught are, first, the Sûtras of Patanjali, in four Pâdas or chapters, and, secondly, the Commentaries. One of these, by Vâchaspati-Misra, is a commentary on an older commentary, said to be by Vyâsa.

Those by Vijnânabhikshu, Bhojadeva, Nâgojibhatta, are the most studied in India.

CHAPTER X.

THE NYAYA AND VAISESHIKA SYSTEMS.

The Nyaya System.

In the Nyâya System, Gotama, its reputed author, asks himself two questions: What are the subjects on which "right notions" are indispensable? and what are the means by which they can be obtained? He begins with the means, or instruments, for which the Sanskrit word is *pramâna*. These instruments he declares to be [1]—

"1. Knowledge which has arisen from the contact of a sense with its object (that is, with the elements).

"2. Inference of three sorts,—à priori, à posteriori, and from analogy.

"3. Comparison; and—

"4. Knowledge verbally communicated, which may be of 'that whereof the matter is seen,' and of 'that whereof the matter is not seen,' (revelation.)"

The *prameya*, or objects about which it is indispensable to have knowledge, are next treated of. These are:—the soul; body; five organs of sensation and their corresponding objects; understanding, *manas*, or the organ of imagination and volition; activity; faults or failings which cause activity (viz., affection, aversion, and bewilderment); transmigration; fruit or retribu-

[1] Chambers' Encyclopædia, art. "Nyâya."

tion, or that which accrues from activity and failings; pain, and absolute deliverance or emancipation.

We must content ourselves in this sketch with conveying an idea of the maner in which Gotama defines the first four.

Soul (*âtman*) is the site of knowledge or sentiment; it is infinite, eternal. Souls are numerous, but the Supreme Soul is one. It is demonstrated as the creator of all things. Knowledge, volition, desire, aversion, pain, pleasure, severally and collectively, argue the existence of soul. They are not universal attributes,—as number, quantity, &c.,—common to all substances; but are peculiar qualities, apprehended only by one organ. They have a distinct substratum, which is neither substance, as heretofore understood, nor space, nor time. This substratum is the living soul, *jîvâtman,* the animating spirit of each individual. This individual soul is infinite and eternal, and experiences the fruit of its deeds, whether pain or pleasure.[1]

Gotama's definition of body (*sarîra*) is, that it is earthy, but not composed of the three elements, nor the four, nor the five; It is the seat of the soul's enjoyment, for it is the seat not merely of motion, but of effort or action, tending to the attainment of what is pleasing, and to the removal of what is displeasing.

Organs of sensation (*indriya*), are next defined as "instruments of knowledge, conjoined to the body and imperceptible to the senses." Some of the observations on these senses are notable, as, in reference to sight, Gotama does not consider the pupil of the eye to be the organ of sight, but "a ray of light proceeding from the pupil of the eye towards the object viewed, is the visual organ." And so also in reference to hearing, "the outer ear or opening of the auditory passage" is not the organ of hearing, but, "ether contained in the cavity of the ear, and communicating by intermediate ether with the object heard."[2]

Objects of sensation (*artha*), corresponding with the *indriya,*

[1] Chambers' Encyclo., l. l.. Colebrooke, Misc. Ess., vol. i. pp. 267—8.
[2] Ibid, vol. i. pp. 268—9.

are the qualities of earth, viz., odour, savour, colour, tangibility, and sound.

Having determined what kind of evidence is to be admitted as proof, and what are the objects concerning which proof or right notions are indispensable for future bliss, Gotama proceeds to investigate the *method* by which doubt is removed and certainty is obtained. Doubt (*sansaya*), he says, may be caused "from unsteadiness in the recognition, or by the non-recognition of some mark, which, if we were sure of its presence or absence, would determine the subject to be so or so, or not to be so or so; but it may also arise from conflicting testimony." [1]

"But how," in the words of Dr. Ballantyne, "is a man to get out of doubt? He will be content to remain in doubt if there be no *motive* for inquiring further." Gotama proceeds therefore to describe motive, *prayojana,* as that by which a person is moved to action. "It is the desire of attaining pleasure, or of shunning pain, or the wish of exemption from both; for such is the purpose or impulse of every one in a natural state of mind."

He next defines *drishtânta,* a familiar instance. It is, according to him, a topic on which, in controversy, both disputants consent; or "that in regard to which a man of an ordinary and a man of a superior intellect entertain the same opinion." By the aid of such example the assertion of the proposition establishes, as he believes, a tenet or dogma, *Siddhânta.* This tenet may, however, be "a tenet of all the schools," that is, universally acknowledged, or "a tenet peculiar to some school," that is, partially acknowledged; or "a hypothetical dogma," that is, one which rests on the supposed truth of another dogma; or "an implied dogma," that is, one the correctness of which is not expressly proved, but tacitly admitted by the Nyâya. [2]

[1] Chambers, l. l. p. 14. Colebrooke, l. l. vol. i. p. 291.

[2] Colebrooke, vol. i. p. 291. Chambers' Encyclo., l. l. p. 14. Dr. Ballantyne, in the Benares "Pandit," vol. i. p. 50.

A tenet, however, is supposed to require a syllogistic proof. Gotama proceeds, therefore, to examine the nature of such a proof, and being thus led to an examination of the nature of discussion in general, enters into a detailed account of the various modes in which a discussion may be carried on. The definitions he gives, on this occasion, of the different sorts of discussion,—in which the object of the disputant is not truth, but victory,—are not the least interesting part of his treatise.[1]

Even the bare outline here given shows Gotama's peculiar mental power, and practical mode of dealing with the deepest questions which affect the human mind. He tries to discover man's place in the universe; and to do this correctly, he carefully examines the tools or instruments proper for the attainment of truth. His conclusions on one subject or another may be rejected; but his clearness of aim, and his distinct perception of right means towards its attainment, continue to be the invaluable guide of successive generations.

It has been remarked, that "the great prominence given by the Nyâya to the *method*, by means of which truth might be ascertained, has sometimes misled European writers into the belief that it is merely a system of formal logic; but far from being restricted to mere logic, the Nyâya was intended to be a complete system of philosophical investigation, and dealt with some questions, such as the nature of the intellect, articulated sound, genus, variety, and individuality in a manner so masterly as well to deserve the notice of European philosophers."[2]

The prominence, however, which Gotama himself gives to the *method* of reasoning, and the general interest which attaches to it, render it desirable that we should recur to it with greater detail. But before doing so we must note, that whilst European logic employs phraseology founded on classification, the Nyâya

[1] Dr. Ballantyne, in "The Pandit," vol. i. p. 50. Chambers' Encyclopædia, art. "Nyâya," p. 14.

[2] Chambers' Encyclopædia, art. "Nyâya," p. 14.

system makes use of terms upon which a classification would be based. The one infers that "kings are mortal," because they belong to the *class* of mortal beings. The other arrives at the same conclusion, because mortality is inherent in humanity, and humanity is inherent in kings.

This difference may not seem to be in itself of great importance, but not to understand it would throw unnecessary difficulty in the way of those who desire free and confidential interchange of thought with enlightened Hindus, on those subjects which are most deeply interesting to our common nature. Dr. Ballantyne says: "What we wish to impress in regard to this is, the necessity (if both parties wish to understand each other) of acquiring readiness and dexterity in transforming the one phraseology into the other; for a person habituated to the one form finds the other at first both repulsive and perplexing, because the rules which he has previously been accustomed to trust to, do not apply directly to the form of expression propounded, and are of no use to him till he has got the matter into the shape in which it might have been advantageously presented to him at the outset. The European logician will have no difficulty in bringing to the test of his own rules a statement presented to him in any intelligible shape by a pandit, or anyone else; but he will place a needless obstacle in the way of his own argument if he leaves to a pandit the task of doing the same thing for himself."[1]

The proposition given above would, as we have seen, be stated by a European logician as, "All men are mortal;" by a Hindu as, "Where there is humanity there is mortality." The process of reasoning is the same; but whilst the European is assisted by the abstract idea of *class,* the Hindu makes use of what in Sanskrit is termed *vyâpti.*[2] This word indicates that inherent con-

[1] Dr. Ballantyne, in the Benares Mag., vol. i. (1849), reprinted in the "Pandit," vol. i. p. 22.

[2] "It is difficult," says Dr. Röer, "to find an adequate word in English for this term, "vyâpti." It means, literally, pervading inherence, but is only used in the philosophical systems to denote logical relations in a proposition fit to form the major term or member

nection of subject and predicate has been ascertained, and that mortality is inherent in humanity is an ascertained fact. The ascertainment of this pervading inherence appears to answer almost precisely to what we call induction; and this leads us to another, but less important variation, between the modes of Hindu metaphysicians and those of Europe. In the process of induction the Hindu calls in the aid of his memory, as, in the exposition of the Nyâya System, Gotama says: "Having repeatedly observed in the case of culinary hearths and the like, that where there is smoke there is fire, having assumed that the concomitancy is invariable, having gone near a mountain and being doubtful whether there is fire in it; . . . . . seeing smoke on it, one *recollects* the invariable concomitancy of fire and smoke." . . . . . "This recollection of a previously-established general principle" . . . . . answers to the "Enthymema" of the Greek. The Greek holds the unexpected premiss to be in the *mind*,—the Hindu in the memory.[1]

In now turning our attention to Gotama's nyâya or syllogism, we must first observe that, according to him, it consists of five *avayava*, or component parts. 1st. The proposition or the declaration of what is to be established, the Sanskrit word for which is *pratijnâ*. 2nd. The reason or means for the establishing of what is to be established, *hetu*. 3rd. The example or some familiar case, which either illustrates the case to be established or shows the impossibility of its being otherwise: this in Sanskrit is *udâharana*. 4th. The application or re-statement of that in respect of which something is to be established, the *upanaya*. And, 5th. The conclusion, *nigamana*, or the re-stating of the proposition because of the mention of the reason.[2]

of a syllogism. And consequently, the words 'vyâpa' or 'vyâpaka' are only made use of in reference to a general proposition. And as a literal translation of these words might easily lead to erroneous views, Dr. Röer gives their equivalent in the terminology of Europe.—*Translation of Bhâshâ-Parichheda*, pp. 31—32, *note*.

[1] Dr. Ballantyne, on Nyâya. "Pandit," vol. i. p. 24.

[2] Dr. Goldstücker, in Chambers' Encyclo., art. "Nyâya," p. 14. Colebrooke, Misc. Ess., vol. i. p. 292.

The example given of such a syllogism runs thus:—

"1. This hill is fiery;

"2. For it smokes;

"3. It smokes in the same manner as a culinary hearth, and it does not smoke as a lake, from which vapour is seen to arise; for vapour is not smoke, and a lake is invariably devoid of fire;

"4. Accordingly, the hill is smoking;

"5. Therefore, it is fiery."

That the Hindu syllogism consists of five instead of three members, has been charged upon it as deficiency in "accuracy of definition." This accusation is thus met by Dr. Ballantyne: "The five-membered expression, so far as the arrangement of its parts is concerned, is a summary of the *Naiyâyika's* views in regard to rhetoric, 'an offshoot from logic' (see Whately's Elements of Rhetoric, p. 6), and one to which, after 'the ascertainment of the truth by investigation,' belongs the establishment of it to the satisfaction of another."[1] In fact, Gotama appears to have expressed bare logic in a two-membered argument, and to have added two other members when he sought to convince rhetorically. After the declaration, and the reason, he inserts an "example," confirmatory and also suggestive, and an "application," that is, he shows in the fourth member of his syllogism that his example possesses the required character; and then he winds up with the "conclusion," or Q. E. D., which is common to all syllogisms.

Gotama himself probably used the five-membered syllogism exclusively, for the three-membered and two-membered are only referred to as promulgated in later works, in which the Vaiseshika system is combined with that of the Nyâya.

We must complete this sketch, or outline, by giving a few specimens of the manner in which the Nyâya school, or the Naiyâyikas, conduct their school debates; and these we take

[1] Dr. Ballantyne, on the Nyâya System. "Pandit," vol. i. p. 39.

from Ward's "View of the History, Literature, and Mythology of the Hindus."

An opponent is introduced, who takes the teacher's reasoning to pieces, "putting it," Dr. Ballantyne says, "into the form of the five-membered discourse, and trying to show its insufficiency."[1]

An opponent asks whether, when a horse is seen at a distance, and cannot be distinguished from an ass, or *vice versâ*, the doubt exists in the object or in the mind of the person seeing. Gotama says in the mind, and that the mind must remain in doubt until the senses furnish fuller evidence.[2]

Another opponent makes the following statement:

> "The senses were created to give knowledge of objects.
>
> "Therefore objects must have existed before the senses, and independently of them.
>
> "Because the senses are the medium of knowledge; and it would have been unreasonable to create the medium, had there not been something whereon the medium should be exercised."

He then reproaches Gotama with having affirmed that it was not until the senses were exercised on an object, that that object became known, whereas, since "all objects necessarily existed before, the senses could not be necessary to their existence. Proof," he continues, "must be common to past, present, and future time; but according to your acknowledgment there was a time when it did not exist." He goes on to show that objects and proof of their existence are not inseparable. Knowledge or proof comes to us gradually; first, names of things are given, then the names are sounded, and when the sound is heard, and its meaning understood, the knowledge of it is obtained. Gotama appears to treat this as cavilling, for he asks the opponent how, if he maintains that nothing is capable of proof, he

[1] On the Nyâya System. Republished from Benares Magazine, in "Pandit," vol. i. p. 22.
[2] Ward's View, vol. iv. p. 246.

will obtain proof of his own proposition, that nothing can be proved. The opponent shifts his ground, says he meant to affirm that there was no such thing as substance, and that objects, and the evidence of their existence, must be a mistake. Gotama shows this proposition to be untenable, by the example of a drum which must have had an existence before the sound which proceeds from it reaches the ear. Sound is the proof, the object of which is the drum. And again, in the case of objects displayed by the sun, the sun proves the existence of objects; wherefore "it is manifest, that wherever the proof of things can be united to that which is to be proved, such proof will be established."

In some cases it is said that the understanding is needed to confirm the testimony of the senses; but there are cases in which the evidence of the senses alone suffices: "A lamp depends upon the sight of others for its manifestation; but the eyes are possessed of an inherent energy, so that other assistance is unnecessary." [1]

When the opponent objects to the evidence of the senses, because their power depends upon their union with spirit, Gotama replies that this does not affect the question. The union of spirit is necessary to all ideas; but spirit merely assists in forming general conceptions, while the senses are indispensable in forming notions of individual objects. The following examples are adduced:

"A man in a state of profound sleep is awoke by the sound of thunder; in this instance the ear alone is the means of evidence, for the senses and spirit had no intercourse at the time; so also, when a person in deep thought is suddenly surprised by the touch of fire, the first impression is on the sense of feeling, and afterwards spirit is awakened to a sense of danger."

When the opponent objects to the proposition that the proofs of things apply to time as past, present, and future, and says

[1] Ward's View, vol. iv. p. 248.

that present time is a nonentity; for that whilst we utter the words it is gone, "Gotama contends that if present time be not admitted, neither the past nor the future can be maintained, for they belong to each other; and the very idea of anything being present or visible necessarily belongs to present time."[1]

Allusions to the nature of sound are of frequent occurrence in Hindu philosophy; and the manner in which it is investigated in the Nyâya has been thought "deserving the notice of western speculation."[2]

The opponent says that sound is not in itself a medium of proof, it is the same as inference. Sound is a cause, and the meaning inseparable from it must be inferred. Gotama denies that any meaning is inseparably attached to sound, for he says, barley is called by us *yava*, but the *mlechchhas* (barbarians or inferior races) call it *panku*. The direct or literal meaning of sound is admitted in all that relates to visible life, and for the invisible world the *Sâstras* (or religious books) give efficacy to sound. "We are not to suppose that the sâstra is uncreated, for all the words of which it is composed are of human composition; to be at all understood, they are dependent upon the faculty of hearing; and they are subject to decay; the source of sound is the power of utterance placed in the throat."[3]

The conclusion is, that sound is of human invention, not, as the opponent asserts, uncreated.

The opponent carries on the argument, saying that men have constantly repeated the same alphabetic sounds; to which Gotama replies that, if sounds were uncreated, we should not depend upon the reiteration of alphabetic sounds. What is uncreated has only one form, whereas sounds possess endless variety; they are the symbols of things, and their power lies in expressing kind, qualities, actions, &c.

When Gotama asserts that the destruction of the body is not

[1] Ward, vol. iv. p. 249.
[2] Chambers' Encyclo. art. "Nyâya."
[3] Ward's View, vol. iv. pp. 250, 251.

the destruction of spirit, but of the dwelling-place of spirit, the opponent says in that case the word death has no meaning; but Gotama explains that death is "the dissolution of the tenacious union between the soul and the animal spirit."

The opponent thinks that the faculty of reason or mind must be identical with spirit, because we say, "*I* do not remember." To which Gotama replies that a person so expressing himself means to say, "I am endeavouring to remember that which in my mind I had lost." And he further remarks that if mind were the same as spirit, it would happen, that when the mind wandered, the body would be without a soul.[1]

One of Gotama's reasons for inferring that spirit is distinct from body is, that a child is "subject to fears and other sensations which it could never have acquired but from the impressions received in preceding forms of existence." The opponent thinks that you might as well attribute the expansion and contraction of the flower of the lotus to joys and fears experienced in a former birth; but to this Gotama observes that the motions of the lotus are subject to the seasons, whilst the actions of the child are not.[2] Further observations are made to show that there is in man an undying living spirit of which mind is merely the organ, and of which remembrance and knowledge are qualities.

Remembrance is a part of knowledge. Knowledge produces impressions, "and when these impressions meet with some assistant, remembrance is produced."[3]

The Vaiseshika System.

The Abstracts and Commentaries, in which the Vaiseshika system is at present taught, are, as already noticed, an intermingling of the system of Kanâda with that of Gotama. For European readers this is to be regretted, for in Europe we like

[1] Ward's View, vol. iv. p. 253. [2] Ibid, vol. iv. p. 254. [3] Ibid, p. 258.

to identify an author's individuality with his work. Hindus, on the other hand, consider this is a matter absolutely unimportant. Knowledge, or truth, is to them the precious power which releases from the bondage of transitory existence, and ushers the emancipated soul into realms of eternal bliss; and, whether this knowledge come through the medium of one teacher or another, or whether such teacher lived in by-gone centuries or is a contemporary, is perfectly immaterial.

In our country, and in our generation, the question of authorship assumes a different aspect. Even when the truth, which we desire to receive, is to be received as absolute truth, we imagine it better, or accept it more readily, if we can form to ourselves a notion of the character of the person through whom it is conveyed to us. Words vary in meaning from generation to generation, and, even amongst contemporaries, opinions similar in language may vary in force. Thus, it will help us to understand the ten lectures attributed to Kanâda, if we keep in mind that they lean towards physical science rather than towards metaphysical analysis; that his system was later than that of Gotama; and that it may on several points be looked upon, not as opposing, but as completing, the Nyâya system.

Kanâda distributes the contents of the universe under six categories or *padârtha*,[1], to which later writers of this school add a seventh.

These *padârtha* are:

Substance	*dravya*.
Quality	*guna*.
Action or motion	*karman*.
Generality or community	*sâmânya*.
Atomic individuality or difference	*visesha*.
Co-inherence, or intimate relation	*samavâya*.

[1] Dr. Ballantyne observes, that in ordinary language *padârtha* means "a thing;" and adds that, although he doubts whether the Pandits will agree with him, he believes that Kanâda used the term in its etymological sense to signify "that which is meant by a "word." Reprinted from the Benares Magazine in "Pandit," vol. i. p. 22.

To these the modern Vaiseshikas add non-existence, *abhâva*. Substance is treated as the intimate cause of an aggregate effect, —that in which qualities abide, and in which action takes place. Substance is not therefore analagous to our idea of matter, but includes what we consider as aerial, imponderable, abstract, spiritual and emotional. Nine descriptions of matter are enumerated, as earth, water, light, air, ether, time, space, soul (*âtman*), and *manas*, the organ of affection. With these species of substance the following qualities unite: colour, savour, odour, feel, number, dimension, severality, conjunction, disjunction, priority, posteriority, gravity, fluidity, viscidity, sound, understanding, pleasure, pain, desire, aversion, volition or effort, merit, demerit, and self-restitution.

Qualities not only unite with substance, but substance, of one kind or other, is the substratum necessary to the existence of the quality; and this idea, that "substances are the substrata of qualities and actions," appears to have originated with Kanâda. Passing over action and generality, Kanâda's fifth topic is atomic individuality or ultimate difference. This ultimate difference is called *visesha*, and from this term, and the doctrine which it signifies, Kanâda's system has been named. In the form of *viseshas*, that is, of atomic individualities, substance is, it asserts, eternal, but transient, when assuming the condition of products. Atoms are eternal and unchangeable, and two atoms of the same substance, though homogeneous with each other, differ merely in so far as the one excludes the other. Kanâda's atoms are absolute units of space, without dimension or motion, mere mathematical points. But whilst they are without cause themselves, they are the cause of the material universe. To the senses they are wholly imperceptible, and knowledge of them can only be obtained by inference.[1]

In the interesting Introduction which Dr. Röer has appended

[1] Chambers' Encyclo., article "Vaiseshika;" Röer's translation of the Bhâshâ-Parichchheda, Intro.

to his "Translation of the Bhâshâ-Parichchheda," he compares Kanâda's doctrine of atoms to that of Democritus, and pronounces it vastly superior; because, in the Hindu system, "atoms are first conceived in their real notion as units of matter without any extent; and, secondly, because the theory of atoms forms only a subordinate part of Hindu research."

We will now endeavour to give a few of the more significant points of this system. When the nature of earth is investigated it is said to be of two kinds;—eternal in its character of atoms, uneternal in the shape of products. The distinguishing quality of earth is its smell.

In the description of qualities, the following is the account given of self-restitution. It is threefold: 1st. It is the impetus causing activity in earth, water, light, air, and the organ of affection. 2nd. The mental process peculiar to the soul, and the cause of memory. And 3rd. It is elasticity, causing mats and similar substances, when disturbed, to reassume their former position.[1]

In concluding this very cursory statement, it must especially be noticed that, in this system, understanding, *buddhi*, is the quality of soul, *âtman*. And it is through the action of buddhi alone that truth or right notions can be acquired. The tools or instruments with which buddhi works for this purpose are two. In the words of an article of which we have already made much use, "Kanâda admits of only two such instruments, or *pramânas*, viz., knowledge which arises from the contact of a sense with its object, and inference. Comparison, revelation, and the other instruments of right notion, mentioned in other systems, the commentators endeavour to show are included in these two. Fallacies and other modes of inconclusive reasoning are further dealt with in connection with 'inference,' though with less detail than in the Nyâya, where these topics are enlarged upon with particular predilection."[2] It has likewise been

[1] Chambers' Encyclo., art. "Vaiseshika." [2] Ibid, l. l.

observed, that Kanâda simplified the syllogism, and that a syllogism of three members, or of two members, has been the form used since Kanâda's additions have been made to the Nyâya doctrine. It would be interesting to trace observations on physical science up to their source, so as to ascertain whether they originated previous to Kanâda; and, if so, whether Kanâda's observations added essentially to their acuteness.

The following statements are recorded in the Bhâshâ-Parichchheda, one of the later but renowned works of Viswanâtha Panchânana, which teach the doctrines of the Vaiseshikas.

The teacher contends that the seat of vision is the pupil of the eye, and not the iris. An opponent objects that the pupil is too small a body to embrace large objects, and that the whole eye must be engaged in the work of vision. To this the teacher replies that the seat of vision must be confined to that part of the eye which is made up of *light,* the Sanskrit word which he here uses for light being *tejas;* and he argues, that as the blaze of a lamp is capable of compression and expansion, so also is this light in the eye. When the power of vision falls upon a transparent object, it sees through it; when it falls upon an opaque body, it rests upon the surface. The teacher further shows that the light of the eye must be confined to the pupil by referring to animals who see in the dark, in which it is evident that the pupil of the eye is full of this light called *tejas.*[1]

The phenomena of sight are again alluded to as an illustration of the rapidity of thought. The teacher states that ideas arise in succession, and that one idea remains in the mind only till the next is formed. He admits that continually many ideas appear to have been formed at once; but this, he says, is illustrated by the rapid motion of a shaft, which, in a state of extreme velocity, appears to the observer as a regular circle.[2]

We also meet with some striking remarks on sound, as:

[1] Ward's View, vol. iv. p. 255. [2] Ibid, vol. iv. p. 259.

"164. There are two kinds of sound, inarticulate and articulate; the first is produced by a drum, &c., and the latter, as Ka and other letters, by the contact of the throat with the palate.

"165. Every sound abides in the ether, but it is perceived when it is produced in the ear. Some say its production takes place like a succession of waves.

"166. According to others, like the bud of the Kadamba plant. From the knowledge that the letter Ka is produced, and that it is destroyed, non eternity of sound would follow."

And the concluding verse of Viswanâtha says:

"167. The knowledge, that this Ka is that Ka, depends upon the perception of general knowledge. 'This is the medicine,' such and other sentences depend upon general knowledge."[1]

Neither the Nyâya nor the Vaiseshika must be viewed as expounding theology. Ideas of God are introduced, but incidentally, as when speaking of the three evils which comprehend all the rest, the teacher says it has been asserted that the knowledge of God will destroy all these errors at once; but this is incorrect; knowledge of God will destroy the parent evils, and the attendant errors will vanish as a consequence. Nature, the teacher declares to be the same with God. Nature, in this sense, is separate from things, and is, as he shows, competent to the work of creation.

We conclude this outline of the Nyâya united with the Vaiseshika doctrine by referring to a few very interesting passages, in which Dr. Röer states his estimate of the religiousness of these philosophers. He considers their doctrine decidedly theistical. "According to them," he says, "God is personal. He is not . . . . mere existence, mere knowledge, mere bliss, but he is a substance, of which existence, &c., are attributes; for it is impossible to think of existence, knowledge, &c., without referring them to a subject which exists, which has know-

[1] Dr. Röer's Translation of the Bhâshâ-Parichchheda, pp. 80—81.

ledge." And this existence Dr. Röer considers to be distinct from the world and distinct from finite spirits. "He is of infinite power, the ruler of the universe."[1]

And this idea is not a mere fortuitous addition to the system, but one of its chief springs. Atoms in themselves are unconnected, have no action, produce no effects. So also with man's higher nature, to use Dr. Röer's own words: "There may be souls, independent of a creator, but without conscience, without enjoyment, without development, and without a final end, for they are not united with mind, the instrument by which they are connected with the world, among themselves and with the creator. Because this connection exists, because there is form, because individual souls have conscience, therefore it is necessary to assume a God who, by his infinite power and knowledge, is the author of this connection, of the all-pervading harmony of the world. This argument for the existence of a Deity is essentially teleological, or based upon final causes in nature. The Deity is the creator of the world as to its form, not as to its matter. The Nyâya approaches most closely of all Hindu systems the Christian notion of God, as its deity is an infinite spirit, and at the same time personal, ... distinct from matter, and the creator and ruler of the universe."[2]

But little is known of the reputed author of the Vaiseshika system beyond his bearing the name Kanâda, which native authorities derive from *kan'a,* minute, and *âda,* eating, and sometimes change into *Kan'abhuj* or *Kan'abhaksha, bhuj* and *bhaksha* being synonyms of *âda.* These Sûtras, like the Nyâya Sûtras, have been commented by a triple set of commentaries, and popularised in several elementary treatises. The text, with the commentary of Sankara Misra, edited in Calcutta in 1861, by Jayanârâyana Tarka Panchânana, is the best edition for those who read Sanskrit; and even those who do not will find

[1] Röer, trans. of Bhâshâ-Parichchheda, Intro. xv.

[2] Translation of Bhâshâ-Parichchheda, Intro. xvi.

some portions translated by the late Dr. Ballantyne. Amongst the later works on the same subject, the most important is the Bhâshâ-Parichchheda,[1] to which we have already referred. The author is Viswanâtha Panchânana Bhatta, son to Vidyânivesa Bhatta. This is accompanied by a commentary, entitled, "Siddhânta-Muktâvalî" ("The Pearl-Wreath of Truth"). Viswanâtha is known also by a commentary on the Nyâya Sûtras. Pandits believe him to have lived about two hundred years ago. His Bhâshâ-Parichchheda is a text-book in the present schools of Bengal. There is no Pandit of any repute who does not know it well, and many know the whole of it by heart. It is written in metre, although making no attempt to possess the merits of poetical composition. The Commentary by which he accompanies this work, called Siddhânta-Muktâvali, "The Pearl-Wreath of Truth," is altogether different. It is written to support the views of the author and his school in controversy, and enters into discussion, and uses "the whole armoury of the sometimes very abstruse technical language of the Nyâya."[2]

The last work that need be mentioned on the united Nyâya and Vaiseshika systems is the Tarka-Sangraha, of which a popular abstract was written by Annam Bhatta, and published at Allahabad in 1851, with the appended English translation from the pen of Dr. Ballantyne.

The Tarka-Sangraha of Annam Bhatta.

Having placed in my heart the Lord of the world (that is to say, having meditated on God), and having saluted my preceptor, I compose this treatise, named the Compendium of Logical results for the pleasant instruction of the uninstructed.

Substance, Quality, Action, Genus, Difference, Co-inherence, and Non-existence,—these are the seven categories.

[1] Trans. of Bhâshâ-Parichchheda, Intro. xxiv. [2] Ibid, Intro. xxv.

Amongst those (that is to say, amongst the Categories), Substances (that is to say, the abodes of Qualities), are nine—Earth, Water, Light, Air, Ether, Time, Place, Soul, and Mind.

Colour, Savour, Odour, Tangibility, Number, Dimension, Severalty, Conjunction, Disjunction, Priority, Posteriority, Weight, Fluidity, Viscidity, Sound, Understanding, Pleasure, Pain, Desire, Aversion, Effort, Merit and Demerit, Faculty.

To throw upwards, to throw downwards, to contract, to expand, to go; these are called the five Actions.

Genus (that is to say, a common nature, as the nature common to jars, the nature common to webs, &c.,) is of two kinds—higher and lower.

Differences which reside in eternal substances are endless.

Co-inherence is one only.

Non-existence (that is to say, the fact of not existing) is of four kinds—antecedent non-existence, destruction, absolute non-existence, and mutual non-existence.

They call "Earth" that in which there is the quality Odour. It is of two kinds—eternal and un-eternal. In its atomic character it is eternal; and when some product arises out of those atoms, then that is called un-eternal.

This (that is to say, Earth in the character of a product) is of three kinds, through these differences—body, organ of sense, mass. The body is that of us men. The organ is the apprehender of odour, called the Smell, which resides in the fore part of the nose. And the masses (that is to say, what have parts) are clods, stones, &c.

What appears cold on touching it, they call Water.

And that (namely, water) is of two kinds—eternal and un-eternal. In the form of atoms it is eternal; and when a product is produced by those atoms, then that is called un-eternal. In the form of products water is of three kinds, through the difference of body, sense, and mass. The body exists in the world of Varuna, and the sense is the percipient of savour, which they call the Taste. It resides in the fore part of the tongue. And the masses are rivers, seas, and the like.

That of which the sensation by touch is warm, they call Light. This is of two kinds—eternal and un-eternal. This light in the form of products is of three kinds, through these differences—body, sense, and mass. The body exists in the solar realm—this is a familiar assertion. The sense, the percipient of colour, which they call the

Light, resides in the fore part of the pupil of the eye. And the masses are of four kinds, through these differences,—produced in earth, produced in the sky, produced in the stomach, and produced in mines. Produced in earth, it is fire, &c. Produced in the sky, it is lightning and the like, the fuel of which is water. And that is resident in the stomach which is the cause of the digestion of things eaten. That light is produced in mines which, such as gold and the like, is found in mines.

That which has not colour, and has tangibility, they call Air. It is of two kinds—eternal and un-eternal. In the form of atoms it is eternal, and in the form of products it is un-eternal. Air in the form of products is of three kinds, through the differences of body, sense, and mass. The body is in the aerial world. The sense is the Touch, the apprehender of tangibility, existing throughout the whole body. Its mass is that which is the cause of the shaking of trees and the like.

Air circulating within the body is called *prâna*. Although it is but one, yet from the difference of its accidents, it is called breath, flatulence, cerebral pulsation, general pulsation, and digestion.

They call that Ether in which there resides the quality of sound. It is one, all-pervading and eternal.

The cause of the employment of "Past," "Present," and "Future," they call Time. It is one, all-pervading, and eternal.

The cause of the employment of "East," "West," &c., they call Space. It is one, all-pervading, and eternal.

The substratum of knowledge (that is, that in which knowledge resides) they call Soul. It is of two kinds—the animal soul and the Supreme soul. The Supreme soul is God, the Omniscient. He is One only, and devoid of joy or sorrow. And the animal soul is distributed to each body. It is all-pervading and eternal.

The sense which is the cause of the perception of pleasure or pain, &c., they call the Mind. And it is innumerable for this reason, that it remains with each Soul. It is in the form of an atom, and is eternal.

That quality which is apprehended only by the sense of Sight, they call Colour. And this quality is of seven kinds, through these differences: white, blue, yellow, red, green, brown, and variegated. This quality resides in earth, water, and light. In earth, colour of all the seven kinds resides; and in water, white colour not lustrous resides: and lustrous white colour resides in light.

The quality which is known through the sense of Taste, they call

Savour. And it (namely, the quality of savour) is of six kinds, through the differences of sweet, sour, saline, bitter, astringent, and pungent. This quality resides in earth and water. In earth there is savour of the six kinds, and in water there is only the sweet savour.

The quality which is apprehended by the sense of Smell, they call Odour. It is of two kinds, fragrance and stench. This quality resides in earth alone.

They call that quality Tangibility which they perceive only by the sense of Touch. This quality is of three kinds, through the distinctions of cold, warm, and temperate (that is to say, neither cold nor warm). This quality resides in earth, water, light, and air. Coldness to the touch resides in water, warmth to the touch in light, and temperateness in earth and air.

The four of which Colour is the first (that is to say, Colour, Savour, Odour, Tangibility), may be produced in Earth (that is to say, in earthy things), by maturation (that is to say, by the special conjunction of heat), and they are then transient. In others (that is to say, in water, light, and air), colour and the like are not produced by the conjunction of heat. They are here eternal or transient. When they reside in eternal things they are eternal; and when they reside in things not eternal, they are said to be transient.

They call the peculiar cause of the perception of Unity and the like, Number. This (that is to say, number) resides in the nine substances; and, reckoning from unity, it is as far as a "*lakh of lakhs of karors.*" Unity is both eternal and un-eternal. It is eternal in an eternal thing, and un-eternal in an un-eternal thing; but Duality and the like is everywhere un-eternal.

They call the peculiar cause of the conception of Bulk, Measure. This quality resides in the nine substances; and it (that is to say, measure) is of four kinds, through the distinctions of small, great, long, and short.

They call the peculiar cause of the conception of things as numerically distinct, Severalty. This quality resides in all the substances.

They call the peculiar cause of the conception of things as conjoined, Conjunction. This quality also resides in all the substances.

They call the quality which annihilates Conjunction, Disjunction; and this resides in all the substances.

They call the peculiar cause of the conception of (things as), far and near, Remoteness and Proximity. These qualities reside in earth, water,

light, air, and mind. They are of two kinds,—made by Space and made by Time. There is remoteness, made by space, in that thing which remains in a distant place; and proximity, made by space, in that thing which remains in a place near. In the person who is the elder, there is remoteness made by time; and in the person who is the younger, there is proximity made by time. (Distance and proximity are determined by relation.)

They call the quality which is the non-intimate cause of incipient falling, Weight. This quality resides in earth and in water.

The quality which is the non-intimate cause of incipient trickling (that is to say, oozing, or melting, or flowing) is called Fluidity. It affects earth, light, and water. This quality is of two kinds: natural (that is to say, established by its own nature), and adscititious (that is to say, produced by some cause). Natural fluidity resides in water; and adscititious fluidity resides in earth and light. In earthy substances (butter and the like), fluidity is produced by the conjunction of fire.

They call the quality by which particles and the like become a heap, Viscidity. This quality resides in water alone.

They call the quality which is apprehended by the organ of hearing, Sound. This quality resides only in the ether. It is of two kinds,—inarticulate and articulate. Inarticulate sound is produced by the instrumentality of a drum and the like. Sound, which is in the shape of the Sanskrit (the Hindi), or any other language, is called articulate (that is to say, in the form of syllables).

Knowledge, which is the cause of every conception (that can be put in words), they call Understanding. It is of two kinds,—remembrance and notion.

The knowledge that is produced only by its own antecedence (*i e.*, by itself as its own antecedent), they call Remembrance; and knowledge which is different from that is called Notion. This (that is to say, notion) is of two kinds,—right and wrong

Of whatever description anything is, when our idea of that thing is of the same description, it is called a right notion,—as in the case of silver, the idea of its being silver. This is called *pramá* (that is to say, commensurate with its object). The supposing a thing to be as the thing is not,—such a notion is called a wrong notion,—as in the case of a (pearly) shell, the notion of its being silver.

Right notion is of four kinds, according to the division of perceptions, inferences, conclusions from similarity, and authoritative assertions un-

derstood. And the efficient causes of these (that is to say, their peculiar causes) also are of four kinds, according to the division of perception, inference, recognition of similarity, and authoritative assertion.

Whatever thing, through its operating, is the cause, not common to all effects, of some given effect, that is the instrumental cause thereof.

That which is invariably antecedent to some product, and is not otherwise constituted (*i.e.*, is not by anything else, except the result in question, constituted a cause) is the cause (of that product).

That which annuls its own antecedent, non-existence, is called an Effect.

Cause is of three kinds, according to the distinction of intimate, non-intimate, and instrumental. That in which an effect intimately relative to it takes its rise, is an intimate cause (of that effect),—as threads are of cloth, and the cloth itself of its own colour, &c. Where this intimate relation exists, that cause which is associated in one and the same object (as a necessarily immanent cause) with such effect or cause, is not intimate. Thus, the conjunction of the threads is the non-intimate cause of the cloth, and the colour of the threads that of the colour of the cloth. The cause, which is distinct from both of these, is the instrumental cause,—as the weaver's brush, the loom, &c., are of cloth. Among these three kinds of causes, that only is called an instrumental cause which is not a universally concurrent cause or condition (of all effects, —as God, time, place, &c., are.)

The cause of the knowledge (called) sensation, is an organ of sense; knowledge produced by the conjunction of an organ of sense and its object, is sensation. It is of two kinds: where it does not pay regard to an alternative, and where it does. The knowledge which does not pay regard to an alternative is that which involves no specification,—as in the simple cognition, that "this is something which exists." The knowledge which contemplates an alternative is that which includes a specification,—as "this is *Dittha*," "this is a Brâhmana," "this is black."

The relative proximity of a sense and its object, which is the cause of perception, is of six kinds: (1) conjunction, (2) intimate union with that which is in conjunction, (3) intimate union with what is intimately united with that which is in conjunction, (4) intimate union, (5) intimate union with that which is intimately united, and (6) the connection which arises from the relation between that which qualifies and the thing qualified. For example: when a jar is perceived by the eye, there is (between the sense and the object) the proximity of conjunction. In the perception

of the colour of the jar, there is the proximity of intimate union with that which is in conjunction, because the colour is intimately united with the jar, which is in conjunction with the sense of vision. In the perception of the fact that colour generically is present, there is the proximity of intimate union with what is intimately united with that which is in conjunction, because the generic property of being a colour is intimately united with the particular colour which is intimately united with the jar, which is in conjunction with the sense of vision. In the perception of sound by the organ of hearing, there is the proximity of intimate union, because the organ of hearing consists of the ether which resides in the cavity of the ear, and sound is a quality of ether, and there is intimate union between a quality and that of which it is the quality. In the perception of the nature of sound (in a given sound of which we are cognizant) the proximity is that of intimate union with what is intimately united, because the nature of sound is intimately united with sound, which is intimately united with the organ of hearing. In the perception of non-existence, the proximity is dependent on the relation between a distinctive quality and that which is so distinguished, because when the ground is (perceived to be) possessed of the non-existence of a jar, the non-existence of a jar distinguishes the ground which is in conjunction with the organ of vision.

Knowledge produced by these six kinds of proximity is perception. Its instrumental cause is sense. Thus it is settled that an organ of sense is what gives us the knowledge called sensation.

So much for the chapter on Sense.

The instrument (in the production) of an inference is a generalised fact. An inference is the knowledge that arises from deduction. Deduction is the ascertaining that the subject possesses that character which is invariably attended (by what we then predicate of it). For example, the knowledge that "this hill is characterised by smoke, which is always attended by fire," is a deductive application of a general principle; the knowledge produced from which, viz., that "the hill is fiery," is an inference. Invariable attendedness is the fact of being constantly accompanied, as in the example: "Wherever there is smoke there is fire (by which it is invariably attended)." By "the subject's possessing a character, &c.," we mean that in a mountain or the like there is present that (*e.g.*, smoke) which is invariably attended (*e.g.*, by fire)

A general principle is of two kinds, in so far as it may be useful for one's self and another. That which is employed for one's self is the

cause of a private conclusion in one's own mind. For example, having repeatedly and personally observed, in the case of culinary hearths and the like, that where there is smoke there is fire, having assumed that the concomitancy is invariable, having gone near a mountain, and being doubtful as to whether there is fire in it, having seen smoke on the mountain, a man recollects the invariable attendance of fire where there is smoke. Then the knowledge arises that "this mountain is characterised by smoke, which is invariably attended by fire." This is called *linga-parâmarsa*, which means, the consideration of a sign. Thence is produced the knowledge that the "mountain is fiery," which is the conclusion (*anumiti*). This is the process of inference for one's self.

But after having, to the satisfaction of his own mind, inferred fire from smoke, when one makes use of the five-membered form of exposition for the instruction of another, then is the process one of inference for the sake of another. For example (1.) The mountain is fiery; (2.) because it smokes; (3.) whatever smokes is fiery, as a culinary hearth; (4.) and this does so; (5.) therefore it is fiery as aforesaid. In consequence of the token here rendered, the other also admits that there is fire.

The five members of this syllogism are severally named: (1.) the proposition, (2.) the reason, (3.) the example, (4.) the application, and (5.) the conclusion. "The mountain is fiery," is the proposition; "because of its being smoky," is the reason; "whatever is smoky, &c.," is the example; "and so this mountain is," is the application; "therefore the mountain is fiery," is the conclusion.

The cause of an inference (*anumiti*), whether for one's self or for another, is simply the consideration of a sign; therefore the *anumâna* (which was previously stated to be the cause of an inference) is just this consideration of a sign.

A sign or token (*linga*) is of three sorts; (1.) that which may betoken by its presence or by its absence (*anwaya-vyatireki*); (2.) that which betokens only by its presence (*kevalânwayi*); and (3.) that which betokens only by its absence (*kevalavyatireki*). The first is that token which is possessed of pervading inherence (*vyâpti*), both in respect of its association (with the thing which it betokens), and its absence (when the thing it betokens is absent), as for example, *smokiness* when *fire* is to be proved. When it is said, "where there is smoke there is fire, as on a culinary hearth," we have a case of concomitant presence. When it is said, "where fire is not, there smoke also is not,

as in a great deep lake," we have a case of concomitant absence. The second is that token which has no negative instance, as when it is said, "the jar is nameable because it is cognisable, as cloth is," there is no instance of nameableness or of cognizableness being present where the other is absent, because everything (that we can be conversant about) is both cognizable and nameable. The third is that token in regard to which we can reason only from its invariable absence. For example (we might argue as follows):

(1.) Earth is different from these (other elements).

(2.) Because it is odorous.

(3.) Nothing that is not different from these (other elements) is odorous—as water (for example, is not odorous).

(4.) But this (earth) is not odorous.

(5.) Therefore it is different from the other elements.

But if (in the third member of the argument) we had argued (affirmatively) that "what possesses odour is different from the other elements," we should have had no example to cite in confirmation, seeing that of earth alone can that property be asserted.

That whose possession of what is to be established is doubtful is called the subject (*paksha*), as the mountain when the fact of its smoking is assigned as the reason (for inferring the presence of fire). That which certainly possesses the property in question is called an instance on the same side (*sapaksha*), as the culinary hearth in the same example. That which is certainly devoid of the property in question is called an instance on the opposite side (*vipaksha*), as the great deep lake in the same example.

The five that merely present the appearance of a reason (*hetwâbhâsa*) are (1) that which goes astray, (2) that which would prove the contrary, (3.) that where there is an equally strong argument on the other side, (4.) the unreal, and (5.) the futile.

The alleged reason which goes astray (*savyabhichâra*) is that which has not just the one conclusion. It is of three kinds. (1.) What would prove too much (*sâdhârana*): (2.) what belongs to none besides the individual (*asâdhârana*), and (3) the non-exclusive (*anupasanhâri*). The fallacy falls under the first head, when that which is alleged as the proof may be present, whilst that which has to be proved is absent;—as for instance, if one should say, "The mountain is fiery, because it is an object of right knowledge," (the reason assigned would be liable to this objection) because the being an object that may be rightly

known is predicable also of a lake, which is characterised by the absence of fire.

That (pretended token) which belongs neither to any similar instance, nor to any one dissimilar, is one devoid of community (*asâdhârana*); as when one says, " Sound is eternal, for it has the nature of sound." Now the nature of sound belongs to sound alone, and to nothing else, whether eternal or un-eternal.

The pretended argument, which can bring an example neither in support nor in opposition, is non-exclusive (*anupasanhârî*). For example, should one say, " Everything is un-eternal, because it is cognizable," there would be no example to cite, because " everything " (leaving nothing over) is the subject of the conclusion.

A reason proving the reverse (*viruddha*) is that which invariably attends the absence of what is to be proved For example, suppose one should say, " Souud is eternal, because it is created," (we should reject his argument at once, because the fact of having been created implies non-eternity,—the negation of being eternal).

A counterbalanced reason (*satpratipaksha*) is that along with which there exists another reason, which (equally well) establishes the non-existence of what is to be proved. As if one should argue, " Sound is eternal, because it is audible, as the nature of sound is (by both parties admitted to be);" (it might be argued with equal force on the other side, that) " Sound is non-eternal, because it is a product, as a jar is."

An unreal reason is threefold,—(1.) where there is not established the existence of any such locality as that where the property is alleged to reside (*âsrayâsiddha*); (2.) where the nature alleged does not really reside in the subject (*swarûpâsiddha*); and (3.) where the alleged invariableness of concomitancy is not real (*vyâpyatwâsiddha*).

(As an example of) the fallacy of non-existent locality (suppose that one argues), " The sky-lotus is fragrant, because the nature of a lotus resides in it, as in the lotuses of the lake "—here the sky-lotus is (alleged as) the locality (of the nature of a lotus), and in fact it (the sky-lotus) does not exist.

As (an example of) an argument where the nature does not really exist in the subject, (suppose one were to argue), " Sound is a quality, because it is visible "—here (every one would perceive at once that) visibility does not reside in sound, for sound is recognised by hearing (not by vision).

A reason, when there is an indispensable condition, is faulty as regards comprehensiveness. Such an indispensable condition (*upâdhi*) is

what always attends the property to be established, but does not always attend what is brought forward in proof.

Invariable attendance on the property to be established (*sâdhya-vyâpakatwa*) consists in the not being the counter-entity (*apratiyogitwa*) of the absolute non-existence (*atyantâbhâva*), which has the same location as (*samânâdhikarana*) that which is to be proved Non-invariable attendance on what is brought forward in proof (*sâdhanâvyâpakatwa*) consists in the being the counter-entity (*pratiyogitwa*) of the non-existence, which has what is brought forward in proof.

(Suppose it to be argued that) "The mountain must smoke, because it is fiery,"—in this case the contact of wet fuel is an indispensable condition. For "wherever there is smoke, there is the conjunction of wet fuel;" so that we have here invariable attendance on what is to be proved (*sâdhyavyâpakatâ*). But it is not true that "wherever there is fire, there there is conjunction of wet fuel;" for there is no conjunction of wet fuel in the case of an (ignited) iron ball. So we have here non-invariable attendance on the proof (*sâdhanâvyapâkat*). As there is thus its invariable attendance on what is to be proved, the contact of wet fuel is an indispensable condition for the sufficiency of the reason alleged. As it would require this additional condition (in order to prove that smoke must be present), fireiness (in the argument before us) is faulty as regards comprehensiveness.

An argument is futile (*bâdhita*) when the reverse of what it seeks to prove is established for certain by another proof. For example (it may be argued that), "Fire is cold, because it is a substance." There coldness is to be proved, and its opposite, warmth, is apprehended by the very sense of touch. Hence the argument is futile.

Thus has Inference been expounded.

Comparison, or the recognition of likeness, (*upamâna*) is the cause of an inference from similarity (*upamiti*). Such an inference consists in the knowledge of the relation between a name and the thing so named. Its instrument is the knowledge of a likeness. The recollection of the purport of a statement of resemblance is the operation of that instrument. For example, a person not knowing what is meant by the word *gavaya* (Bos gavœus), having heard from some inhabitant of the forest that a *gavaya* is like a cow, goes to the forest. Remembering the purport of what he has been told, he sees a body like that of a cow. Then this inference from similarity arises (in his mind) that "this is what is meant by the word *gavaya*."

Thus has Comparison been expounded.

A word (or right assertion) is the speech of one worthy (of confidence). One worthy is a speaker of the truth. A speech (or sentence) is a collection of significant sounds ; as, for example, "Bring the cow." A significant sound (*pada*) is that which is possessed of power (to convey a meaning). The power (of a word) is the appointment in the shape of God's will, that such and such an import should be recognisable from such and such a significant sound.

The cause of the knowledge of the sense of a sentence is the interdependence, compatibility, and juxtaposition (of the words).

Interdependence (*âkânkshâ*) means the inability in a word to indicate the intended sense in the absence of another word. Compatibility (*yogyatâ*) consists in (a word's) not rendering futile the sense (of the sentence). Juxtaposition (*sannidhi*) consists in the enunciation of the words without a (long) pause between each.

A collection of words devoid of interdependence, &c., is no valid sentence ; for example, "cow, horse, man, elephant," gives no information, the words not looking out for one another.

The expression, "He should irrigate with fire," is no cause of right knowledge, for there is no compatibility (between fire and irrigation).

The words, "Bring—the—cow" not pronounced close together, but with an interval of some three hours between each, are not a cause of correct knowledge, from the absence of (the requisite closeness of) juxtaposition.

Speech is of two kinds—temporal or profane (*laukika*), and sacred (*vaidika*). The former being uttered by God, is all-authoritative ; but the latter only, if uttered by one who deserves confidence, is authoritative ; any other is not so.

The knowledge of the meaning of speech is verbally communicated knowledge ; its instrumental cause is language.

Thus has been explained what constitutes correct knowledge.

Incorrect knowledge is of three sorts, according to the division of doubt, mistake, and (such opinion as is open to) *reductio ad absurdum.*

The recognition, in one (and the same) thing possessing a certain nature, of several heterogeneous natures as characterising it, is doubt (*sansaya*). For example, "a post, or a man."

Apprehending falsely is a mistake (*viparyaya*). For example, in the case of mother of pearl, the idea that this is silver.

Reductio ad absurdum (*tarka*) consists in establishing the pervader (here supposed to be denied) through the allegation of the pervaded

(here supposed to be granted). For example, "If there were not fire (which you deny), then there would not be smoke (which you admit there is)."

Memory also is of two kinds—correct and incorrect. Correct memory is that which arises from correct knowledge. Incorrect memory is that which arises from incorrect knowledge.

What all perceive to be agreeable, is pleasure (*sukha*); what appears disagreeable is pain (*duhkha*).

Desire (*ichchhâ*) means wishing. Aversion (*dwesha*) means disliking. Effort (*prayatna*) means action.

Virtue or merit (*dharmma*) arises from the performance of what is enjoined; but vice or demerit (*adharmma*) from the performance of what is forbidden.

The eight qualities—Intellect and the rest—are distinctive of Soul alone.

Intellect, desire, and effort are of two kinds, eternal and transient; eternal in God, transient in mortals.

Quality self-reproductive (*sanskâra*) is of three kinds—momentum, imagination, and elasticity. Momentum (*vega*) resides in the four beginning with Earth, and in Mind. Imagination (*bhâvanâ*) the cause of memory, and arising from notion, resides only in the Soul. Elasticity (*sthitisthâpaka*) is that which restores to its former position what has been altered. It resides in mats and the like, formed of the earthy element.

So much for the Qualities.

Action consists in motion.

Casting upwards (*utkshepana*) is the cause of conjunction with a higher place. Casting downwards (*apakshepana*) is the cause of contact with a lower place. Contraction (*âkunchana*) is the cause of conjunction with what is near the body. Dilatation (*prasârana*) is the cause of conjunction with what is distant. Going (*gamana*) is the name of every other variety. Action resides only in the four beginning with Earth, and in Mind.

Community or Genus (*sâmânya*) is eternal, one, belonging to more than one, residing in Substance, Quality, and Action. It is of two kinds—higher and lower. The highest degree of community (or the *summum genus*) is existence. A lower genus is such a one as Substantiality (the common nature of what are called Substances).

Differences (*visesha*) residing in eternal substances are excluders (of each from community of nature with the others).

Intimate relation (*samavâya*) is constant connection. It exists in things which cannot exist separately. Two things which cannot exist separately are those of which two the one exists only as lodged in the other. Such pairs are, parts and what is made up of the parts, qualities and the thing qualified, action and agent, species and individual, difference and eternal substances.

Antecedent non-existence (*prâgabhâva*) is without beginning, and has no end. Such is the non-existence of an effect previously to its production. Destruction (*pradhwansa*) has a beginning and no end. (Such is the non-existence) of an effect subsequently to its production. Absolute non-existence (*atyantâbhâva*) is that the counterentity whereof is considered independently of the three times (past, present, and future). For example (such is the non-existence in the instance where it is remarked, that) there is not a jar on the ground. Mutual non-existence or difference (*anyonyâbhâva*) is that the counterentity whereof is considered with reference to the relation of identity. For example (such difference is referred to when it is remarked that) a jar is not a web of cloth.

Since everything is properly included under the categories that have been now stated, it is established that there are only seven categories.

This Compendium of Logical Results was composed by the learned *Annam Bhatta*, in order to perfect the acquaintance of students with the opinions of Kanâda and of the Nyâya.

Thus is the *Tarka-sangraha* completed.

CHAPTER XI.

The Mimansa Systems of Philosophy.

Mimansa is the collective name of two of the six divisions of Hindu philosophy. The word is derived from the Sanskrit *man*, and implies that the authors of these works have investigated (or decided) the meaning of the Vedas. There are two Mîmânsâs. The Pûrva-Mîmânsâ and the Uttara-Mîmânsâ, the latter being universally known as the Vedânta, whilst the former is simply called Mîmânsâ. The terms *pûrva* and *uttara* mean former and latter, and have been supposed to indicate that the one work was older than the other. These terms do not, however, apply to the relative ages of the two Mîmânsâs, but to that of the sacred books which they "investigate." The Pûrva-Mîmânsâ especially treats of Brahmanic ritual and sacrifice as promulgated in the Sanhitâs and Brâhmanas; whilst the Uttara-Mîmânsâ (known as the Vedânta) treats of the nature of God and the soul as taught in the Aranyakas and Upanishads, which are a *later* portion of the Vedas.

The Pûrva-Mîmânsâ is always ranked by Hindu writers as one of the six philosophical systems, but it is not philosophy according to the sense in which Europeans use the word. It is not "concerned with the nature of the absolute or with the human mind,

nor with the various categories of existence in general," which are the subjects of all the other Darsanas. The reputed founder of this system is Jaimini, of unknown date. He taught it in twelve books, each subdivided into four chapters, except the 3rd, 6th, and 10th books, which contain eight chapters each.[1]

It appears to have been written after a variety of schools and theories had, by their different interpretations, endangered a correct or, at any rate, an authoritative understanding of Vedic texts; and it labours, therefore, to show that discrepancies between such texts are merely apparent. Its object is wholly religious, but the method adopted imparts to it a higher character than that of a mere Vedic commentary. Its topics "are arranged according to certain categories, such as authoritativeness, indirect precept, concurrent efficacy, co-ordinate effect, &c." It treats, moreover, incidentally, and, for the sake of argument, of some subjects which belong rather to the sphere of philosophic thought, as "the association of articulate sound with sense, the similarity of words in different languages, the inspiration or eternity of the Veda, the invisible or spiritual operation of pious acts, &c."

We will endeavour to give an idea of its character by a few quotations. Its first Section is on Duty.[2]

"Aph. 1. Next, therefore, (O student, that thou hast attained thus far) a desire to know Duty (*dharma*) is to be entertained by thee.

"Aph. 2. A matter that is a Duty is recognised by the instigatory character (of the passage of scripture in which it is mentioned).

"Aph. 3. An examination of the cause of (our recognising) it (viz., Duty, is to be made)."

The fourth Aphorism explains that knowledge acquired through the organs of sense is *not* the cause, "because (the organs of sense are adapted only to) the apprehension of what is (then and

[1] Knight's Encyclo., art. "Sanskrit Literature" (by Dr. Rost). Chambers' Encyclo., art. "Mîmânsâ" (by Dr. Goldstücker).

[2] Chambers' Encyclo., art. "Mîmânsâ."

there) existent (which an act of Duty is *not*)." The fifth Aphorism proceeds to show that "the natural connection of a word with its sense" is the instrument whereby knowledge of Duty is acquired, for the intimation of Scripture is "unerring, though given in respect of something imperceptible." And this is stated to be the opinion also of Bâdarâyana, the author of the Vedânta Aphorisms. The commentator gives several arguments and examples to prove that the senses are fallible, whilst Scripture is infallible, and concludes the Section with the following words: "but the injunction, 'He that desireth paradise should solemnise the *Agnihotra* sacrifice,' never at any time, past, present, or future, is liable thus to wander from the truth; therefore is it, independently of anything else, the clear evidence of a duty."

The subject of the second Section is the Eternity of Sound.

It commences by referring to the preceding Aphorism with its commentary, which it says declares "that the connection between a word and its sense is *eternal*."

"Aph. 6. Some say that it (viz., Sound) is a product, for in the case of it we *see* (what constitutes it such)."

And "Some," we are told, means the followers of the Nyâya system, who 'contend that Sound is not eternal, for the following reason.'

"Aph. 7. Because of its transitoriness.

"Aph. 8. Because we employ (when speaking of Sound) the expression '*making*.'

"Aph. 9. From its simultaneousness in another person.

"Aph. 10. And (the Naiyâyikas infer that Sound is not eternal, from the observation) of the original and altered forms (of sounds)."

The word *dadhyatra* (*i.e.* "milk—here") is given as an example; the original form was *dadhi atra*, the change being in the shape of the letter *y*, which replaces the original letter *i*.

"Aph. 11. And, by a multitude of makers, there is an augmentation of it.

"Aph. 12. But alike (according to both opinions—that of these objectors and of ourselves) is the *perception* thereof, (both agreeing that *this* is only for a moment, whatever difference of opinion there may be as to Sound itself being so)."[1]

Several Aphorisms follow which assert that "Sound is proved to be eternal," and Aph. 21 adds: "by there being no ground for anticipation (of its destruction)."

The "eternity of language," and "the eternity of Scripture," is the real point of interest, and the argument for it is continued in the third Section. On the nature of sentences, Aphorism 27 states: "That some have declared the Vedas to be recent, because there are the names of men in it." Here again "some" refers to the Naiyâyikas, and their argument is met by explaining that the "names" in question were the names of men who "read" or "studied" special sections afterwards called after them, &c., &c.

Mr. Ward gives, as "the opinion of a sage of the school of Jaimini," that "God is simple sound; to assist the pious, in the forms of meditation (incantations), he is represented as light; but the power of liberation lies in the sound God—God. When the repeater is perfect, the incantation, or name repeated, appears to the repeater in the form of simple light or glory."[2]

The Pûrva-Mîmânsâ is so strictly Brahmanical that it necessarily proves less attractive to Europeans than works treating on subjects of more universal interest. Neither does it appear to be so much studied in India as the other five works which are called Darsanas. "A few years ago," however, Mr. Ward says, in his edition published in 1820, "Bodhimanda Ghanendra Swâmin, a very learned Brahman, born in Drâvira (a Dandin), visited Bengal and gave lectures" on the Pûrva-mîmânsâ, in Calcutta. "A pupil of his, Shobha Shâstrin, at present one of the pandits in the Sudder Dewani Court at Calcutta, is perhaps the best ac-

[1] Ballantyne, Mîmânsâ Aphorisms. [2] Ward's View, vol. iv. p. 291.

quainted of any person now in Bengal with the works which have been written on the doctrines of this school."[1]

The extant commentary on this obscure work is the *Bhâshya* of Sabara-swâmin, which was critically annotated by the great Mîmânsâ authority, Kumârila-swâmin. These works quote several others, apparently lost. The best modern compendium is the *Jaiminîyanyâya-mâlâ-vistara,* by the celebrated Mâdhavâchârya.

Vedanta.[2]

The Vedânta is the second great division of the Mîmânsâ school of Hindu philosophy. The name is derived from the Sanskrit *veda,* and *anta,* end; meaning, literally, that it gives "the end, or ultimate aim of the Vedas." This aim it explains to be knowledge of *Brahma* (neuter), the Supreme Spirit, and of the relation in which man's soul stands towards Brahma (neuter), the Universal Soul. The oldest work on this subject is attributed to Bâdarâyana, or Vyâsa. It is written in the Sûtra style, and is usually called the Brahma-sûtra. It consists of four *Adhyâyas,* or lectures, each subdivided into four *Pâdas,* or chapters.

The following may serve as specimens of the Vedânta Aphorisms:[3]—

"Aph. 1. Next, therefore, (O student, that hast attained thus far) a desire to know God (is to be entertained by thee).

"Aph. 2. (God is that one) whence the birth, &c., of this (universe results).

"Aph. 3. (That God is omniscient, follows) from the fact of (His) being the source of the Scriptures (or, on an alternative rendering, from the fact that Scriptures, which declare this omniscience, are the source —viz , of our knowledge—of Him).

"Aph. 4. But That One (—viz., God—is what the Scriptures declare,

[1] Ward's View, vol. iv. p. 284—5.
[2] Chambers' Encyc., art. "Vedânta."
[3] The Aphorisms of the Vedânta Philosophy, by Bâdarâyana, translated by Ballantyne.

not with a view to anything ulterior, but simply in order that what is so declared may be known; and we make this assertion) because there is consistency (in this view, whilst the opposite view would land us in inconsistencies).

"Aph. 5. ('Nature,'—as declared by the Sânkhyas to be the cause of the world—is) not so;—it is unscriptural, because of the 'reflecting' (or 'seeing,' which Scripture speaks of as belonging to That which is the cause of the world.)

"Aph. 6. If (you say that the expression 'seeing,' is) employed tropically (the reference being to Nature, which does not 'see,'—then I say), No, because of the word 'Soul,' (which is *not* applicable to Nature, and which *is* applied to That which is in question).

"Aph. 7. (That 'That One' is not 'Nature,' may be inferred) from the declaration that the Emancipation takes place of him who is intent upon 'That'—(which That, if unintelligent—as Nature is—it is absurd that a thinking being should intently strive to identify himself with).

"Aph. 8. Is to the same effect. 'That' means God, not Nature.

"Aph. 9. States 'that all souls return into Himself.'

"Aph. 12. Speaks of Brahman (neuter) as 'the deity without qualities'—'the One that consists of joy.'"

Several Aphorisms here follow, to show that the Vedas teach that "the One consisting of joy" cannot be Nature, or an inferior soul, but is the Ether and the Life, &c. An objection, introduced by the commentator, refers to the conversation of Indra and king Pratardana, reported in the Upanishad, called the Kaushîtakî-Brâhmana, in which Indra says, "I am the Life." The subsequent aphorisms show that Indra was then speaking of himself as the supreme soul. Life is God.

These aphorisms merely give the first quarter of the first lecture, of which Mr. Colebrooke's summary is as follows:—

"The omnipotent, omniscient, sentient cause of the universe, is (*ânandamaya*) essentially happy. He is the brilliant golden person, seen *within* (*antar*) the solar orb and the human eye. He is the etherial element (*âkása*), from which all things proceed and to which all return. He is the breath (*prána*) in which all beings merge, into which they all

rise. He is the *light* (*jyotis*) which shines in heaven, and in all places high and low, everywhere throughout the world, and within the human person. He is the *breath* (*prâna*) and intelligent self, immortal, undecaying, and happy, with which *Indra* (in a dialogue with Pratardana) identifies himself."[1]

The most popular elementary treatise on the Vedânta is the Vedânta-Sâra, or essence of the Vedânta, by Sadânanda, to which is appended a commentary by Râmakrishna Tîrtha, edited at Calcutta, 1829. Another commentary, by Nrisinhasaraswatî, bears the date, Calcutta, 1849. Râmakrishna Tîrtha's work is entitled "Rejoicer of the Mind of the Learned." The Vedânta-Sâra, as a matter of course, deals with the same topics as the Vedânta-Sûtras, but in the following order: 1, the competent person (*adhikârin*); 2, the object-matter (*vishaya*); 3, the relation (*sambandha*); and 4, the purpose (*prayojana*). The competent person is one "who has attained to a rough notion of the sense of the whole Veda; who, by renouncing, in this or a former life, things desirable or things forbidden, and by observance of the constant and of the occasional ceremonies, of penances, and of devotions, being freed from all sin, is thoroughly purified in his heart."

The "object-matter" is the fact to be known for certain,—that the soul and God are one.

The "relation" means the identity of soul and God, which is to be known as certain, and the evidence for which is contained in the scriptural treatises.

The "end" or "purpose" is the cessation of the ignorance which invades this identity.

Each of these points is dwelt upon at some length, and the treatment of the subject-matter is, moreover, enlivened by the introduction of opponents, and by the discussion of arguments founded on the Sânkhya doctrine of "subtile elements which

[1] Colebrooke, Misc. Ess., vol. i. p. 338.

produce gross elements." The Soul being first invested, says the Sânkhya, with a "subtile body," and this body being "too subtile to be capable of enjoyment," it is next invested with a "grosser body," doomed to perish, whilst the "subtile frame" transmigrates through many bodies, but never perishes.[1] The following account is an abstract from Chambers' Encyclopædia:—

"The object-matter of the Vedânta is the proof that the universe emanates in a successive development from a Supreme Spirit or Soul, which is called *Brahma* or *Paramâtman;* that the human soul is, therefore, identical in origin with Brahma; that the worldly existence of the human soul is merely the result of its ignorance of this sameness between itself and the Supreme Spirit; and that its final liberation or freedom from transmigration is attained by a removal of this ignorance, which means, by a proper understanding of the truth of the Vedânta doctrine."

"According to this doctrine, *Brahma* (neuter) is both the efficient and material cause of the world, creator and creation, doer and deed. It is one, self-existent, supreme,—as truth, wisdom, intelligence, and happiness,—devoid of the three qualities, in the sense in which created beings possess them; and at the consummation of all things, the whole universe is resolved or absorbed into it. From Brahma individual souls emanate, as innumerable sparks issue from a blazing fire. The soul, therefore, is neither born, nor does it die; it is of divine substance, and as such infinite, immortal, intelligent, sentient, true. Its separate existence, as distinct from Brahma, is the cause of its ignorance; and this ignorance, which consists in regarding the world as a reality, capable of subsisting without Brahma, has a double power,—that of enveloping and that of projecting. By 'enveloping' it renders the soul liable to mundane vicissitudes, as to the sensations of pleasure and pain, &c. By its projective power, ignorance, when it encompasses the soul in its condition of pure intellect, produces the five subtile elements."[2] . . . . .

The whole theory of subtile elements and gross elements, organs of perception and organs of action, is here sketched out; but we pass on to what we consider the distinctive character of the Vedânta, which is, that—

[1] *See* art. "Sânkhya," in Chambers' Encyclopædia.

[2] Chambers' Encyclopædia, art. "Vedânta."

"The soul, when existing in the body, is encased in a succession of 'sheaths.' The first, or interior 'sheath,' consists of *buddhi*, associated with the organs of perception; the second, of *manas*, associated with the organs of action; and the third, of the vital airs, together with the organs of action. These three sheaths constitute the subtile body of the soul, which attends the soul in its transmigrations: and the collective totality of such subtile bodies is the Supreme Soul, as regarded in its relation to the world; when it is also called 'the soul which is the thread,' or passes like a thread through the universe, or Hiranyagarbha, or life. The fourth and exterior 'sheath' of the soul is composed of the gross elements; and the collective aggregate of such bodies is the gross body of the deity. This whole development being the result of ignorance, the soul frees itself from its error by understanding that the different stages in which this development appears do not represent real or absolute truth."

And thus, when error is banished, the soul ceases to be reborn, and becomes re-united with Brahma, whence it emanated. But such complete deliverance can only be attained by the knowledge of Vedânta. Performances of sacrifices or other religious acts enjoined by the Vedas, as for instance, the practice of Yoga, cannot lead to the same result. They can but effect partial or temporary liberation. Various moral duties and many of the Yoga practices are enjoined, not as in themselves sufficient, but as preparing the mind for successful meditation on Vedânta.

These practices probably were not inculcated by the earliest promulgators of Vedânta doctrine. They are looked upon rather as a "compromise with the old orthodox faith, which requires the performance of religious acts, and a later stage of it, which favours such austere practices as are especially known by the name of Yoga (q. v.)."

Our summary or sketch concludes by saying that "the doctrine of *bhakti*, or faith, does not belong to the older Vedânta," and that "this same observation applies to the doctrine of *mâyâ*, or allusion, according to which the world has no reality whatever, but is merely the product of imagination; for the

older Vedânta, as will have been seen, merely teaches that the world is not *the truth,* but does not deny its material reality."[1]

The Vedânta represents the religion of Hindu philosophy; or, perhaps, it would be more correct to say that it represents the religion of philosophers. To suppose that men who accepted Sânkhya doctrine, or who exercised their minds with Nyâya reasoning, would take no interest in the Vedânta, would be somewhat analogous to supposing that if a man studied Aristotle, he would despise Wesley's Hymns or the Psalms of David.

From age to age the Vedânta has maintained its strong hold over noble Hindu intellects. Hence, in turning next to the writings of Sankara Achârya we shall find this eminent philosopher and dialectician not less remarkable as an enthusiastic Vedantist.

Sankara Achârya, or Sankara, the *spiritual teacher,* was one of the most renowned theologians of India. Tradition placed him about 200 B.C., but H. H. Wilson believed him to have lived between the 8th and 9th centuries after Christ. M. Nève adopts this date in the observations with which he introduces his recent translation of Sankara Achârya's poem, entitled, "The Atma-Bodha, or Knowledge of Spirit."

It is as follows:[2]

"1. This book on Knowledge of Spirit is composed for those who have already effaced their sins by penitence, have attained tranquillity, have conquered passion, and who are aspiring to final emancipation.

2. "Of all means, Knowledge alone is able to effect emancipation; as without fire there can be no cooking, so without *jnána,* science, there can be no final deliverance.

"3. Action has no power of repelling ignorance; but by science it is dispersed, as darkness is dispersed by light.

"4. The Spirit is smothered, as it were, by ignorance; but so soon

[1] Chambers' Encyc. art. "Vedânta," p. 731.

[2] Mr. Nève's translation is in French, and bears the title "Atmabodha, ou de la Connaissance de l'Esprit. Version commentée du poème Védantique de Cankara Achârya."

as ignorance is destroyed, Spirit shines forth, like the Sun when released from clouds.

"5. After the Soul, afflicted by Ignorance, has been purified by Science, Science disappears, as the seed or berry of the Kataka after it has purified water.

"6. Like an image in a dream, the world is troubled by love, hatred, and other poisons. So long as the dream lasts, the image appears to be real; but on awaking, it vanishes.

"7. The world appears real, as an oyster-shell appears to be silver; but only so long as Brahma (neuter) remains unknown, he who is above all, and indivisible.

"8. That Being, true and intelligent, comprehends within itself every variety of being, penetrating and permeating all as a thread which strings together beads."

Verse 9 is to the effect, that, in consequence of possessing diverse attributes, the Supreme Existence appears manifold; but that when the attributes are annihilated, Unity is restored.

"10. In consequence of those diverse attributes, a variety of names and conditions are supposed proper to the Spirit, just as a variety of tastes and colours are attributed to water.

"11. The body, formed by the union of five elements, produced by the effect of action, is considered to be the seat of perceptions of pleasure and pain.

"12. The subtile body, which is not formed by the five (gross) elements, but by the union of the five breaths (of life) with *manas*, intelligence, and the ten organs, is the instrument of sensuous perception.

"13. Ignorance, which has no beginning (*anâdyavidyâ*), and which cannot be defined, is the *causal attribute;* but this differs essentially from that triplicity of attributes which is recognised as Spirit.

"14. In union with the five *koshas*, or sheaths, pure Spirit, (*suddhâtman*) has, as it were, the nature of the one or the other, just as crystals reflect the blue or other colours of the objects which come near it.

"15. By the flagellation of speculation must pure Spirit be disengaged from the sheaths within which it is enveloped, as a grain of rice is relieved from its husk.

"16. Spirit (*âtman*), although it penetrates all things, is not everywhere manifest; it manifests itself in *buddhi*, intelligence, as an image reflected in a polished surface.

"17. Spirit must be distinguished from body, from organs of sense, from *manas*, from intelligence (*buddhi*). It must be recognised as incessantly superintending their operations, as a king (watches over his ministers).

"18. Whilst the organs of sense are in action, it appears to the Ignorant that it is Spirit which acts, as when clouds pass across the Moon, the Moon itself appears to move.

"19. The body, the organs of sense, *manas* and *buddhi*, accomplish their respective functions, under the influence of Spirit, as men accomplish their affairs (by the light of the sun).

"20. It is from want of discernment that qualities or acts of the body and the organs of sense are attributed to the pure, living, intelligent Spirit, as the colour blue and other properties are attributed to the firmament.

"21. Action, and other faculties which belong to *manas*, are attributed to Spirit through ignorance, as one attributes the agitation of waves in water to the Moon whose image they reflect.

"22. Passion, desire, pleasure, pain, dwell in *buddhi*, whenever *buddhi* really exists; when in a state of deep slumber *buddhi* ceases to exist, they likewise are no more.

"23. As Light is the peculiar property of the Sun, freshness of water, heat of fire, so, according to its nature, Spirit is essentially life, intelligence, beatitude, eternity, purity.

"24. The living and intelligent character of Spirit (*âtman*), and the activity of intelligence (*buddhi*) are distinct; when they are identified by ignorance, one says, "I know."

"25. Spirit cannot change; *buddhi*, intelligence, has no *bodha*, knowledge; the soul (*jîva*), knowing things in excess is subject to illusion, and says, 'I act, I see.'

"26. If Spirit falls into the error of supposing the individual soul, *jîva*, to be itself, as one might suppose a rope to be a snake, it becomes frightened; but so soon as it perceives 'I am not *jîva*, but the Supreme Spirit (*parâtman*),' it is released from all fear.

"27. Spirit makes *buddhi, &c.*, and the organs of sense manifest, as a lamp illuminates a vase and other objects; but Spirit, which is Spirit, (*svâtman*), is not illuminated by inert matters.

"28. Spirit, whose special property is knowledge, does not require knowledge about itself from any other; as a lamp, shining with light of its own, does not require another lamp to make it visible.

"29. If once the *upâdhi*, or attributes, are put aside by saying, 'This is not, this is not,' let the identity of the Supreme Spirit with soul be recognised by means of the sacred sentences.

"30. All that belongs to the body (must be considered) as the product of ignorance. It is visible; it is perishable as bubbles of air (on the surface of water); but that which has not these signs must be recognised as pure Spirit, which says of itself, 'I am Brahma.'

"31. Because I am distinct from body, I experience neither birth, old age, decrepitude, nor extinction; and, detached from organs of sense, I have no longer any connection with their objects, such as sound.

"32. Being deprived of *manas*, I no longer feel grief, passion, hatred, fear, or other affections. I am;—and this is established by revelation (*sruti*), I am without breathing, without *manas*, absolutely pure.

"33. From Brahma proceed, or are born, the breath of life, (*prâna*), *manas*, the organs of sense, the air, the wind, light, water, and the earth, which nourishes all existence.

"34. I am without quality, without activity, eternal, without volition, without soil, without change, without form, emancipated for ever, perfectly pure.

"35. I am like the ether, penetrating all things, within and without I am without defect, the same throughout; pure, impassible, immaculate, immoveable.

"36. That which is eternal, pure, free, one, happy, without duality, and truly existing—that which is knowledge, infinite, and the supreme Brahma, that I am.

"37. This conception, 'I am Brahma himself!' incessantly entertained, disperses the hallucinations born of ignorance, as medicine disperses sickness.

"38. Seated in a desert place, exempt from passion, master of his senses, let man represent to himself this Spirit, one and infinite, without allowing his thoughts to stray elsewhere.

"39. Considering the visible universe as annihilated in Spirit, let a man, pure through intelligence, constantly contemplate the One Spirit, as he might contemplate luminous ether.

"40. Knowing the highest, he rejects all else, and remains firmly united with the self-existent Being, who is perfect, intelligent, and happy.

"41. In the Supreme Spirit there is no distinction between the perceiver, perception, and the object perceived. In his quality of the Being, which is one, intelligent, and happy, he shines by self-illumination.

"42. When meditation rubs diligently against Spirit, the flame which such friction produces burns up all the combustible material of ignorance.

"43. When knowledge disperses darkness, the light of the Spirit shines forth, dazzling as the Sun.

"44. Spirit, always accessible, is rendered apparently inaccessible by ignorance; but ignorance being dissipated, Spirit shines forth, and is again accessible, like the jewels around the neck (of a person who had forgotten them).

"45. It is an error to attribute the spirit of life (or man's individual spirit *jîvatâ*), to the Supreme Spirit, just as it is an error to take a post for a man. When once the true nature of *jîvatâ* has been recognised, *jîvatâ* itself disappears.

"46. The knowledge which comes from comprehending that Being which has self-existence, completely destroys the ignorance, which says, 'I am,' or 'That belongs to me,' in the same manner as the light of the sun dissipates uncertainty concerning the regions of the sky.

"47. The Yogin, possessing perfect discernment, contemplates all things as subsisting in himself, and thus, by the eye of knowledge, discovers that all is the One Spirit.

"48. He knows that all this moveable world is Spirit, or that beyond Spirit there is nothing; as all varieties of vase are clay, so all things he sees are Spirit.

"49. He who, emancipated from his own individual attributes (*jivan-mukta*), knows this, rejects the qualities of the attributes he previously believed himself to possess, and becomes (Brahma), in virtue of the essential nature of that Being, intelligent and happy, just as the chrysalis loses its former nature to become a bee.

"50. After having traversed the ocean of illusion, and after having destroyed the bad genii with which it is infested, the Yogin sinks into tranquillity, his spirit filled with joy.

"51. Renouncing attachment for external and changeable happiness, and satisfied with happiness derived from spirit (*âtman*), he shines with inward light, as a lamp sheltered beneath a glass.

"52. The Muni (or Yogin), although subject to the conditions of the body, resembles the ether in not being soiled by their properties, Knowing everything, he conducts himself as though he knew nothing, and passes on, like the wind, detached from all things.

"53. From the moment in which the attributes (*upâdhi*) are destroyed

the Muni enters immediately into that which penetrates everywhere (*vishnau*), as water in water, air in air, fire in fire.

" 54. The possession possessing which there is no other to desire, the happiness above which there is no higher happiness, the science above which there is no higher science,—may one know that this is Brahma!

" 55. The object of vision, beyond which no further vision can be desired, the existence in union with which no further birth is possible, the knowledge beyond which one needs no further knowledge,—may one know it,—it is Brahma.

" 56. The Being which fills all intermediate regions, superior and inferior, living, intelligent, happy, without duality, infinite, eternal, one,—may one know it,—it is Brahma!

" 57. That which is designated in the books of the Vedânta as the existence which rejects all which is not Him, the Imperishable, the incessantly happy, the one,—may one know it,—it is Brahma!

" 58. Admitted to a portion of the happiness of that Being which is incessantly happy, Brahmâ and the other gods attain a partial happiness.

" 59. All things rest upon Him, all activity depends upon Him; therefore Brahma is universally diffused, like butter in the mass of milk.

" 60. That which is neither small, nor large, neither short nor long, neither subject to birth nor to destruction, that which is without form, without qualities, without colour, without name,—may one know it,—it is Brahma!

" 61. That by the splendour of which the Sun and the stars shine, whilst itself it derives no light from their light, that by which all things are illuminated,—may one know it,—it is Brahma!

62. Penetrating everywhere, within, without, illuminating the whole universe, Brahma shines from afar, like a globe of iron rendered incandescent by flame.

63. Brahma has no resemblance to the world; nothing in reality exists but Brahma; if anything is produced which is exterior to him, it is but a vain show, like the mirage of the desert.

64. All that is seen, all that is heard, is Brahma; and by knowing this, Brahma is contemplated as the existing, intelligent, undivided Being.

65. The eye of science contemplates the Being which is living, intel-

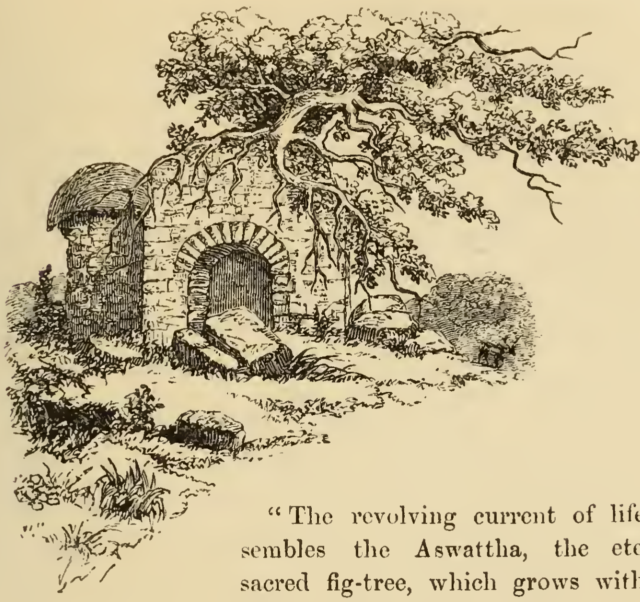
ligent, happy, which penetrates throughout; but the eye of ignorance cannot contemplate this, as a person who is blind cannot perceive the shining sun.

66. The *jîva* or soul, enlightened by sacred tradition and other means of knowledge, warmed by the fire of knowledge, and freed from all soil, becomes brilliant as gold purified by fire.

67. When *âtman*, spirit, which is the sun of knowledge, rises in the ether of the heart, it disperses darkness, permeates all, and sustains all; it shines, and all is light.

68. He, who undertakes the pilgrimage of the spirit, which is peculiar to himself, going everywhere without regard to the state of the sky, the country, or the weather; neutralising or dispersing heat and cold, and acquiring perpetual happiness; free from soil;—such a one becomes omniscient, all-pervading and immortal.

The aphorisms of the Vedânta, the Vedânta-Sâra, the Atma-Bodha, and the Bhagavad-Gîtâ, give evidence that in various parts of India, and in successive periods, Vedânta doctrine has been valued by Hindus as an expression of belief and delight in One Almighty Existence. The same belief and delight, and the same value for Vedânta works, we shall meet with when we study the tenets of "sects;" and even in our nineteenth century we find the excellent Rammohun Roy publishing an "Abridgment of the Vedânta," hoping thereby to convince his country-men that knowledge of Hindu scripture would show the error of idolatry, and "enable them to contemplate with true devotion the unity and omnipresence of nature's God."



"The revolving current of life resembles the Aswattha, the eternal sacred fig-tree, which grows with its roots above and its branches downwards."—Chap. xv.

CHAPTER XII.

THE BHAGAVAD-GITA.

Bhagavad-Gîtâ, or the Lord's Song.—Duty discussed.—Fighting-Spirit cannot be killed.—Repose upon eternal Truth.—Two Natures of Krishna.

The Bhagavad-Gîtâ is one of the most remarkable compositions in the Sanskrit language. It has the form of an episode to the Mahâbhârata, and is introduced as such. Happily it is accessible to English readers; for, besides the translation made some fifty years since by Mr. Wilkins, Mr. Cockburn Thompson has lately published a translation, preceded by an essay on the Hindu

Systems of Philosophy, in which he states that the Bhagavad-Gîtâ may be regarded as an effort to supply what he calls a missing link in the progressing chain of these philosophies. The character of the Sânkhya, Yoga, and Vedânta systems is, as we have seen, this: the Sânkhya explains the origin and development of the universe, and teaches that "true knowledge" emancipates man from the bonds of transitory existence. The Yoga further shows that true knowledge includes knowledge of Iswara, or God, and that this knowledge can only be attained by contemplation and exercises. And, lastly, the Vedânta agrees with the Yoga in asserting that true knowledge is the knowledge of Iswara, but lays especial stress on the doctrine, that man's soul emanates from Brahma, or universal soul, and must learn to *know* that from which it came, and to which it is destined to return. All other knowledge the Vedânta considers futile, and only at a late period were ascetic practices recognised as secondary means in the acquisition of this knowledge.

On some points the several philosophic systems vary; but all insist that knowledge is the essential means for the attainment of "liberation," and more or less all are indifferent to action as a complement of knowledge. Consequently the philosophic systems might become open to the charge that "the ascetic who never stirred from his seat was superior to the active, brave soldier or merchant who defended his neighbours in war or fed them in famine."[1] The Bhagavad-Gîtâ guards the devotee against this erroneous idea, by pointing out the duty of action as involved in "knowledge," and the danger of pure asceticism.

The scheme of the poem is a curious illustration of Hindu disregard of "time" in works of art, for the whole discussion takes place on the battle field, where rival forces are drawn up face to face, and chiefs are already sounding their conchs or war shells. Arjuna, as will be seen in the great epic, was a

[1] Thompson, Intro.

Pândava, or one of the five brothers, sons of Pându. Opposed to the Pândavas in deadly exterminating conflict are the Kauravas, or "descendants of Kuru." Arjuna is a renowned warrior whose heroic deeds are a favourite subject of Sanskrit legend. He comes to the battle-field in a huge chariot drawn by white horses, his friend Krishna acting as his charioteer. Krishna, in the Mahâbhârata, appears originally as an active, energetic warrior of a tribe inhabiting Dwârakâ, in Guzerat. In the later portions of the poem he is endowed with supernatural attributes, but these passages are regarded as interpolations. In the Bhagavad-Gîtâ, Krishna is the Holy One; but this is not yet known to Arjuna, to whom he appears simply as his friend. And now from the opposing force is heard the trumpet of Bhîshma, "sounding like the roar of a lion"—kettle-drums, cymbals, drums, and horns respond, "until that noise grew to an uproar." Krishna, Arjuna, and all the Pându brothers then stood up and blew, too, their famous trumpets. This moment, when Arjuna, according to his habit, should be rushing to the fight, is the time chosen by the author of the Bhagavad-Gîtâ for the philosophical discussions which form the subject of his work. Arjuna shrinks back from slaying kinsmen, friends, and holy teachers.

We quote from the metrical translation given of a portion of "The Lord's Song," by Mr. Griffith, in "Specimens of Old Indian Poetry:"

"Full in the centre of the embattled plain,
At Arjun's bidding, Krishna drew the rein,
And stay'd his horses and the glorious car,
To gaze at leisure on the front of war.

'O mark,' said Krishna, 'trusting in their might,
Great Kuru's children eager for the fight;
Mark well the leaders in their bright array,
And thousands burning or to fall or slay!'

"He looked; as foemen stood on either side,
Kinsmen and friends by dearest ties allied;
There fathers, sons, and holy teachers stood—
Uncles and brothers, near in love and blood.
Sad was the sight to Arjun; o'er his soul
Horror and doubt and mournful pity stole."

He entreats Krishna to have compassion on him, saying:

"Trembling and fear takes hold of every limb,
Parch'd is my mouth, my sickening sight is dim;
Back to my heart the hast'ning torrents flow,[1]
My hand, unnerved, lets fall the trusty bow.
My brain whirls round; with aching sight I see
Sure, grievous omens of what soon must be."

His skin burns with fever, and he can foresee nothing better, he says, even if he should slay all his relations in battle. "I seek not victory, Krishna, nor a kingdom, nor pleasures. What should we do with a kingdom? What with enjoyments or with life itself (if we slew these relatives)? Those very men—on whose account we might desire a kingdom, enjoyments, or pleasures—are assembled for battle, having given up their lives and riches. . . . . When we had killed the Kauravas, what pleasure should we have . . . . ? We should incur a crime were we to put to death these villains. . . . . Even if they whose reason is obscured by covetousness, do not perceive the crime committed by destroying their own tribe, should we not know how to recoil from such a sin—we, who do look upon the slaughter of one's tribe as a crime. Alas, we have determined to commit a great crime, since, from the desire of sovereignty and pleasures, we are prepared to slay our own kin. Better were it for me if the

[1] Or, "my face is dried up." A European would say, "My face grows pale." "In the Hindu, change of complexion not being so obvious, the expression refers to the *feeling* of the blood rushing back from the surface, and leaving the face dry and bloodless."—Thompson.

Kauravas, being armed, would slay me harmless and unresisting in the fight."[1]

"Having thus spoken in the midst of the battle, Arjuna, whose heart was troubled with grief, let fall his bow and arrow, and sat down on the bench of the chariot."

But Arjuna's idea of duty is judged to be mistaken; and in the second chapter Krishna says:

> "Whence hath this cloud of error, dark as night,
> Come o'er thy soul and quench'd thy spirits light?
> Nay, cast it from thee, 'tis the Hero's shame,
> His bar to Heaven the ruin of his fame;
> Scourge of thy foemen, spurn the fear that lies
> On thy sad spirit, and awake! arise!"[2]

Arjuna replies in an agony of doubt and horror, and implores Krishna to explain to him his duty.

This introduces us to the main purpose of the author, which is to teach the nature of man, his relation to the universe, and the means by which he may obtain spiritual union with the eternal spirit of the universe. Krishna begins by telling him that those for whom he grieves "need not be grieved for." "The wise grieve not for dead or living"—"never at any period did I, or thou, or these kings of men not exist, nor shall any of us at any time henceforward cease to exist."[3]

"He who believes that this spirit can kill, and he who thinks that it can be killed . . . . are wrong in judgment. . . . . It is not born, nor dies. . . . . Unborn, changeless, eternal both as to future and past time, it is not slain when the body is killed. . . . . As a man abandons worn-out clothes, and takes other new ones, so does the soul quit worn-out bodies, and enter into other new ones. Weapons cannot cleave it."[4]

[1] Thomson's trans., pp. 5, 6.
[2] Specimens of Old Indian Poetry, R. T. Griffith, p. 63.
[3] Thomson's trans., p. 10.
[4] Ibid, p. 12.

Arjuna must not, and need not, fear therefore to kill even his kindred, if his duty as a Kshatriya require it! Death is certain to every one, but regeneration is also certain. The soul is incomprehensible. "One looks upon it as a miracle, another speaks of it as a miracle, another hears of it as a miracle; but even when he has heard of it, not one comprehends it." It is, however, certain that it would be vain to grieve for souls which are invulnerable, and wrong for a Kshatriya to waver in the lawful duty of his caste. If he did, he would incur infamy, which is worse than death.[1]

"Therefore arise, O son of Kunti! Make up thy mind for the fight. Looking on pleasure or pain, gain or loss, victory or defeat, as the same, gird thyself for the battle."[2]

Krishna then proceeds to show that devotional action, or meditation and mortification, are the means by which man must strive to emancipate his soul from all the perplexities of material life. "In this" (system of Yoga, devotion,) "there is only one single object of a steady, constant nature. Those who do not persevere have objects with many ramifications, and without end." Arjuna is urged to be free from "the three qualities," and to repose on eternal truth, free from worldly anxieties. He begs Krishna to describe a man who has attained such spiritual knowledge. Krishna replies, that when a man has put away all desires, he is said to be "confirmed in spiritual knowledge. When his heart is not troubled in adversities, and all enjoyment in pleasures is fled—when he is free from passion, fear, and anger, constant in meditation, he is called a 'Muni' . . . . he draws in his senses from the objects of sense, even as a tortoise draws together its limbs, and remains in devotion when at rest, intent on Krishna (or the Supreme Being). . . . . He who does not practise devotion has neither intelligence nor reflection . . . . he who does not practise reflection has no calm. . . . .

[1] Thomson's trans., pp. 13, 15. [2] Ibid, pp. 14—17.

When a man's heart is disposed in accordance with his roaming senses, it snatches away his spiritual knowledge as the wind does a ship on the waves; . . . . . but if the man's senses are withheld from objects of sense, he is awake in that which is night to others. That man who, casting off all desires, acts without interest, free from egotism and selfishness, attains to tranquillity. This is the condition of the Supreme Being, O son of Prithâ! Having obtained this, he is not troubled; and, remaining at the time of death, he passes calmly on to extinction (nirvâna) in the Supreme Spirit." [1]

Arjuna inquires, in Chapter III., why Krishna urges him to action, when mental devotion, he says, is superior to action. Krishna replies, that only through action can a man obtain freedom from action. Never for a single moment can one exist without action. Arjuna must be free from selfish interest, and practise action, which has devotion for its object. When man was created, sacrifice was also created, to be to him a cow of plenty. "He who eats the food given, without first offering some to the gods who gave it, is a thief. . . . . He who performs his duty without interest, obtains the highest (region). By action, [2] Janaka and others arrived at perfection." Krishna's next argument is, that Arjuna must perform actions for the sake of the example he will set to others. "Whatever the most excellent practise, other men practise likewise." He gives himself as an instance, and says that if he did not continue indefatigable in activity, mankind, who follow his steps in everything, would perish. "Do thou fight," he continues, "reposing all thy actions on me, by means of meditation on the Adhyâtman, free from hopes and from selfishness, and having put away this morbidness." A man must not fall under the dominion of love or

[1] Thomson, p. 20.

[2] Janaka is here mentioned, because he was a royal rishi, but able, nevertheless, to attain perfection by the upright and wise performance of duty.

Adhyâtman means "Soul above other souls." It is further explained in chapter VIII. p. 245 of this work.

hate; he must perform "his own duty, even if it be devoid of excellence." This is difficult to man, because he has to contend with the quality of badness or passion (*rajas*) which surrounds the universe, "as fire is surrounded by smoke, and a mirror by rust." Rajas (or badness) bewilders the soul; Arjuna, best of Bharatas, you must therefore "cast off this sinful incubus."

Chapter IV. commences by Krishna's announcing that he had "delivered this imperishable doctrine of Yoga to Vivaswat, Vivaswat declared it to Manu, Manu told it to Ikshwâku." Thus it had been handed down; but now, for a considerable time, it had been lost. Arjuna, not being aware that Krishna was the same being as Vishnu, asks how this could be, since Krishna's birth was posterior to that of Vivaswat. Krishna replies, that both he and Arjuna have passed through many transmigrations, which to him, Krishna, are known, but to Arjuna are unknown. "Even though I am unborn, of changeless essence, and the lord also of all which exists, yet in presiding over nature (*prakriti*), which is mine, I am born by my own mystic power (*mâyâ*). For whenever there is a relaxation of duty, and an increase of impiety, I reproduce myself for the protection of the good and the destruction of evil-doers."

Caste was instituted by Krishna, therefore Arjuna must perform the action which attaches to his caste. But the action of a man who is free from self-interest, and acts for "the sake of sacrifice, is (as it were) dissolved away." For such a man, "the Supreme Spirit is the offering. The Supreme Spirit is the sacrificial butter. The Supreme Spirit is in the (sacrificial) fire. By the Supreme Spirit is the offering (really) made. Therefore the Supreme Spirit is attained only by one who meditates on the Supreme Spirit in (performing) his actions."[1] Spiritual knowledge is the great purifier. A man who has attained this, soon attains to supreme tranquillity. "The man of doubtful mind enjoys neither this world nor the other,

[1] Thomson's trans., p. 33.

nor final beatitude," and therefore Krishna urges Arjuna to sever from his heart this doubt which springs from ignorance, to turn to devotion, and to arise.

Chapter V. commences with the following remark from Arjuna: "Thou praisest, Krishna! the renunciation of works, and on the other hand devotion (through them). Declare to me with precision that one only which is the better of these two. Krishna replies, that both the one and the other are means of final emancipation. But that of these two, devotion through works is the higher. Boys, but not wise men, speak of the Sânkhya and the Yoga doctrine as different. That place which is gained by the followers of the Sânkhya is also gained by those of the Yoga system. But renunciation of actions is difficult without the aid of Yoga, whereas (in the words of Wilkins' translation):

"The man who, performing the duties of life, and quitting all interest in them, placeth them upon Brahma (or the Supreme Spirit) floats like a lotus on the lake, unruffled by the tide."[1]

The remainder of this chapter enlarges on the blessedness of renouncing interest in "actions," and the necessity of conquering ignorance. Knowledge is surrounded by ignorance; but when ignorance is destroyed, knowledge lights up the soul like the sun. "Enjoyments which arise from external contacts are also wombs of pain, since they have a beginning and an end." But . . . . "Rishis, who have solved all doubt, who are self-governed, ... obtain extinction in the Supreme Spirit." The ascetic, "knowing that I, the great lord of all worlds, am the enjoyer of his sacrifices and mortifications, and am well-disposed to all creatures, obtains tranquillity."[1]

Chapter VI. continues in the same strain. The soul of the devotee must be fixed on the supreme soul, and become indifferent to all outward conditions. As a means towards the

[1] Wilkins' Bhagavad-Gîtâ, p. 56.

attainment of such blessedness, the devotee must choose a secluded spot, with a sheet or skin for covering, and sacred Kusa grass for his carpet. He must sit immoveable, "regarding only the tip of his nose." He must eat, but he must not eat too much; and he must sleep, but he must not sleep too much. He who errs on these points will not attain devotion, but he who attains freedom from desires becomes "as a candle placed in shelter," which "does not flicker." Arjuna fears that steady continuance in such equanimity must be impossible. "For," he says, "the heart is fickle, full of agitation, headstrong, and obstinate," and as difficult to restrain as the wind. Krishna admits that it is difficult, but not impossible to him "who uses efforts by (proper) means."

In Chapter VII. Mr. Thompson observes that we "commence a new division of Krishna's doctrine. The subject is the nature and attributes of the Supreme Spirit, and his relation to the universe and to mankind.

"Hear, O son of Prithâ, how with thy heart attached to me, practising devotion . . . . . . thou mayest know me. . . . . ." "Earth, water, fire, wind, ether, heart, intellect, egotism—into these eight components is my nature divided." But these eight components merely indicate the inferior nature of Krishna. His superior nature is other than this, and is that which sustains the universe. We will give the passages which follow in the verse of Mr. Griffith: [2]

"Of my two Natures thou hast heard the Less;
But now again prepare thy listening ear,
My higher Nature nobler still to hear.
Life of all Life. Prop of this earthly frame,
Whither all creatures go, from whence they came,
I am the Best; from Me all beings spring,
And rest on me like pearls upon their string;

[1] Thomson's Bhagavad-gîtâ, p. 41.
[2] R. T. Griffith, Specimens of Old Indian Poetry, p. 66.

I am the moisture in the moving stream,
In Sun and Moon the bright essential Beam,
The mystic word in Scripture's holy page,
Sound in the Air—Earth's fragrant Scent am I—
Life of all Living—Good men's Piety—
Seed of all Being—Brightness in the Flame;
In the Wise, Wisdom; in the Famous, Fame."

The three qualities (*guna*) also proceed from Krishna; but the influence of these qualities causes delusion (*mâyâ*), hard to be overcome. "Those who have recourse to me only can surmount that illusion." "Evil-doers, fools, and low men . . . . do not have recourse to me. Four kinds of upright men worship me . . . . the afflicted, he who is desirous of knowledge, he who is desirous of some possession, and he who is possessed of spiritual knowledge. . . . . Of these, the best is the one who is possessed of spiritual knowledge." . . . . "A great-minded man who (is convinced) that 'Vâsudeva[1] is everything,' is difficult to find." Those who, "deprived of spiritual knowledge," adopt rites . . . . those:

"Whose Fires have duly glowed, whose lips have quaff'd
The holy Soma's purifying draught,
Pray unto Me, nor are their prayers in vain,
For due reward and heavenly bliss they gain;
They hie to Indra's holy sphere, and share
The joy of Gods, and all the glories there;
But time at length exhausts their store of worth,
And brings them down, unparadised, to earth."

This idea is afterwards given in other words, as, "the reward of little-minded men is finite. They who sacrifice to the gods, go to the gods. They who worship me, come to me." The chapter concludes by saying that

"They who turn to me, and strive after liberation from regeneration

[1] A name for Krishna when viewed as Vishnu and the Supreme Being.

and death, know that whole supreme spirit and the Adhyâtman—and know me (Krishna says) to be the Adhibhûta, the Adhidaiva, and the Adhiyajna, and in the hour of death know me indeed.

In Chapter VIII. these terms are explained. Availing ourselves of Mr. Thomson's notes, we understand that Adhyâtman is composed of *adhi*, above, or presiding over, and *âtman*, soul—the supreme spirit in its relation to soul—"the spirit from which it has emanated, but with which it is still intimately connected, in the relation of an inferior part to a superior whole." Adhibhûta is *adhi*, presiding over, and *bhûta*, "that which exists;" the supreme being in his relation to the universe, *prakriti*, which is the essence of matter divisible in its development into twenty-three categories. Third, Adhidaiva, "presiding over *deva* or *devatâ*, a deity; and here a general term for all superhuman beings." And in addition to these spiritual aspects, Krishna must also be known as Adhiyajna, "presiding over sacrifice," which means the Supreme Spirit "in his relation to religion."[1]

Knowledge of Krishna, as the highest object of worship, is further taught in Chapter IX. Krishna says: "This is a kingly science and a kingly mystery. . . . . All this universe has been created by me, embodied as the undeveloped principle. All things exist in me. I do not dwell within them, and yet things do *not* exist in me. This is my lordly mystery. My spirit, which causes things to exist, sustains existing things, but does not dwell in them. Understand, that even as the mighty air, which wanders everywhere, always dwells within the ether, so all existing things exist within me. At the conclusion of a Kalpa, all existing things re-enter nature, which is cognate with me. But I cause them to come forth again at the beginning of a Kalpa. . . . . By this means, O son of Kunti! does the world revolve. The deluded despise me, when invested with a human

[1] Thomson, B. G. pp. 54, 57.

form, not understanding my high existence. . . . . But the high-minded, inclining to the nature of the gods, worship me with their hearts turned to no other object, knowing me to be the imperishable principle of all things. . . . . I am the immolation. I am the whole sacrificial rite. I am the libation offered to ancestors. I am the drug. I am the incantation. I am the sacrificial butter. I am the fire. . . . . I am the father, the mother, the sustainer, the grandfather of this universe,—the mystic doctrine, the purification, the syllable Om!—the Rich-, the Sâman-, and also the Yajur-Veda. . . . . I heat (the world). I withhold and pour out the rain. I am ambrosia and death, the existing and the non-existing. . . . . . Even those also who devotedly worship other gods with the gift of faith, worship me, too, O son of Kunti! but not properly." (And, consequently, having worshipped but a portion of Krishna, their reward is limited, and they are born again on earth). . . . . "Those who devote themselves to the gods, go to the gods; those who devote themselves to the Pitris, go to the Pitris. . . . . Only my worshippers come to me. If any one offer me a leaf, a flower, fruit or water, with devotional intention, I eat it" (or accept it). . . . "Whatsoever thou dost, ... that do as an offering to me. Thus thou shalt be freed from the bonds of action, ... and if thou be devoted to devotion and renunciation, when discharged (from the body), thou wilt come to me. I am the same to all beings. I have neither foe nor friend. But those who worship me with devotion dwell in me, and I also in them. . . . . Even those who are born in sin—even women, Vaisyas and Sûdras—take the highest path if they come to me."

Chapter X. repeats, to a considerable extent, the contents of chapter nine. Krishna says of himself, "I am the origin of all. From me all proceeds. Believing me to be thus, the wise . . . . worship me. . . . . To them who are constantly devoted, ... I give that mental devotion, by means of which they eventually

come to me. For them only do I . . . . destroy the darkness which springs from ignorance by the brilliant lamp of spiritual knowledge." Arjuna confesses that Krishna is the "Supreme, Universal Spirit, the Supreme dwelling, the most excellent purification, the Eternal Person prior to the gods, unborn, omnipresent." . . . . But He entreats Krishna to declare his divine virtues more completely. He desires to know in what particular forms he would be contemplated.[1]

Krishna replies, that he cannot tell his virtues with completeness, for there is no end of his extensiveness; but he again asserts his supremacy in all things, and enters into details, as: "Of Vedas, I am the Sâma-veda. . . . . Among words, the monosyllable 'Om!' Among forms of worship, the silent worship. Among mountain ranges, Himalaya. The sacred fig-tree among all trees;[2] . . . ." Towards the conclusion he says, "I am also eternal time. I am the preserver who watches in all directions. And I am Death, who seizes all, and the Birth of those who are to be. . . . . I am the game of dice among things which deceive. . . . . But what, indeed, hast thou to do, Arjuna, with so much knowledge as all this? (One sentence comprehends it all, viz.): I have established, and continue to establish, all this universe by one portion of myself."

Chapter XI.—Arjuna is now convinced of the "inexhaustible greatness" of Krishna, but is anxious to behold his sovereign form as he has declared it. "If," he says, "thou thinkest that that form is possible for me to look on, do thou, lord of devotion, show thine inexhaustible self to me!"

Krishna then gives the well-known description of himself as the infinite, universal Deity.

Having thus spoken, Hari (a name of Krishna) showed to the son of Prithâ his sovereign form, gifted with many mouths and eyes, with many wonderful appearances, with many divine ornaments, holding

[1] Thomson, p. 70. [2] Aswattha or Pipal, *vide* p. 236.

many celestial weapons, wearing celestial wreaths and robes, anointed with celestial perfumes, the all-miraculous infinite deity, with his face turned in all directions. If the light of a thousand suns were to break forth in the sky at the same time, it would be similar to the brilliance of that mighty one. There did the son of Pându then behold the whole universe, so multifariously distributed, collected in one in the person of the god of gods . . . . thereupon, with his hair standing on end, bowing his head, he spoke as follows :[1]

"I behold all the gods in thy body, O god! and crowds of different beings; the lord Brahmâ on a throne of a lotus-cup, and all the Rishis (or holy poets), and celestial serpents. I see thee with many arms, stomachs, mouths, and eyes, everywhere of infinite form. I see neither end nor middle, nor yet beginning of thee, O Lord of All! of the form of All! crowned with a diadem, bearing a club, a discus. I see thee a mass of light, beaming everywhere, hard to look upon, bright as a kindled fire or the sun, on all sides immeasurable. I believe thee to be the indivisible, the highest object of knowledge, the supreme receptacle of this universe, the imperishable preserver of eternal law, the everlasting person. I see thee without beginning, middle, or end, of infinite strength, with the sun and moon as eyes, mouths like a kindled fire, heating all the universe with thy splendour. . . . . Having seen thy mighty form, with many mouths and eyes, and with many arms, thighs, and feet, many stomachs, and projecting teeth, the worlds, and I too, are astounded."[2]

Arjuna becomes troubled in his inmost soul, and feels no joy in "beholding mouths with projecting teeth, like the fire of death." And into these mouths of Krishna, or Vishnu, all the sons of Dhritarâshtra are hastening—some are seen sticking amongst his teeth, and some are seen with their heads ground down. He says to Krishna:

"As many torrents of rivers flow to the ocean, so these heroes enter thy flaming mouths. As flies . . . . fly into a lighted candle. Devouring all inhabitants of the world from every quarter, thou lickest them in thy flaming lips. . . . ."[3]

[1] Thomson, p. 75. [2] Ibid, p. 75 ff. [3] Ibid, p. 77.

Arjuna, overwhelmed with fear, calls Krishna "infinite king of gods! habitation of the universe—the one indivisible—the existing and not existing;" . . . . and unable adequately to express the fulness of his reverence, exclaims, "Hail! hail to thee! hail to thee a thousand times! and again, yet again, hail! Hail to thee from before! Hail to thee from behind! Hail to thee from all sides! Thou All! Of infinite power and immense might, thou comprehendest all; therefore thou art All." And then, alarmed at having treated this Almighty Existence as a friend, he implores pardon for whatever he has said "from negligence or affection, as: 'O Krishna! O son of Yadu! O friend!' and everything in which I may have treated thee in a joking manner, in recreation, repose, sitting, or at meals, whether in private or in presence of these, Eternal One."

Arjuna further confesses that Krishna is the "father of the animate and inanimate world," and entreats that he will bear with him "as a father with a son, as a friend with a friend, as a lover with his beloved one." He says that what he has seen has delighted him, but that his "heart is shaken with awe," and he entreats Krishna to show his other form. "With thy tiara, thy staff, and thy discus in thy hand, thus only do I desire to see thee. Invest thyself with that four-armed form, thou of a thousand arms, of every form!"

Krishna, or Vâsudeva, then consoled Arjuna by resuming "a pleasant shape."

In Chapter XII. Arjuna enquires whether those who worship Krishna in his manifested form, or those who worship the indivisible and unmanifested are "the most skilled in devotion." Krishna replies, that those who worship the indivisible, indemonstrable, unmanifested, omnipresent, are esteemed the most devoted; but he allows that the labour of directing thought to an object which has no manifest form is great, and is with difficulty attained by mortals, and he therefore recommends[1] wor-

[1] *See* note by Mr. Thomson, p. 82.

ship "under the *vyakta,* or manifested form." And this, Mr. Thomson considers, "would be almost the same as that of worshipping him in his separate manifestations as some one of the deities."

Krishna says: "If thou art not able to compose thy thoughts immoveable on me, strive then to reach me by assiduous devotion. . . . . If thou art not capable even of assiduity, be intent on the performance of actions for me. . . . . Knowledge is better than assiduity, contemplation is preferred to knowledge, the abandonment of self-interest in action to contemplation, final emancipation results from such abandonment." [1]

We come now to the 13th Chapter, which Mr. Thomson regards as commencing a third division of the poem, as the first six chapters of the Bhagavad-Gîtâ treat, he says, of the practical dogmata of the Yoga system; the following six of its theology; while the concluding six, on which we are now entering, "bring forward the speculative" portion.

Chapter XIII. commences thus:

The Holy One spoke:

"This body, O son of Kunti! is called *Kshetra.* Those who know the truth of things call that which knows this (*Kshetra*), *Kshetrajna.* And know also that I am the *Kshetrajna* in all *Kshetras.* What that *Kshetra* is, ... and what that *Kshetrajna* is, ... learn from me." Krishna then tells him that Vedic hymns and Brahma-sûtras [2] have treated on this subject.

"*Kshetra* is, literally, 'body,' not merely the personal body, but the body considered as an aggregate of all the components (twenty-three in number), all the attributes, and all the life of matter in its development." [3]

Every organic aggregate of matter which contains a soul, and even inorganic matter, as stones, &c., are comprehended under this head. "*Kshetrajna* is the individual soul which exists in such *Kshetras;*" the literal meaning of the word being "that

[1] Thomson, p. 83. [2] *See* above, p. 205. [3] Thomson, p. 85.

which understands the *Kshetra.*" To assist us in understanding this doctrine, Mr. Thomson bids us remember that "Hindu philosophers believed the soul to be placed within the body, in order to work out its emancipation from material and individual existence." "That emancipation," he continues, "can only be worked out by a complete and just comprehension of the nature of matter, and its true relations with individual soul and the supreme spirit. Hence it is called the 'comprehender of matter.'"

Kshetra, Krishna says, comprehends "the great elements, the ego-ism, the intellect, the principle of life, the eleven organs, the five organs of sense. . . . ." [1]

Kshetrajna, he states to be spiritual knowledge, which is "modesty, sincerity, ... reverence towards preceptors, purity, ... self-government, indifference towards objects of sense, ... unselfishness, contemplation of birth, death, old age, sickness, pain, and error, ... indifference towards one's children, wife, and household, constant equanimity in pleasant and unpleasant circumstances, attentive worship by exclusive devotion on me, frequenting of solitary spots, a distaste for the society of men . . . ." [2]

But this, which is called spiritual knowledge, is merely a means towards an end; "the object of spiritual knowledge" is "the Supreme Being, without beginning, neither the existent nor non-existent. It possesses hands and feet in all directions; eyes, heads and faces in all directions; having ears in all directions, he exists in the world, comprehending all things; resplendent with the faculties of all the senses, yet discontented with all the senses; disinterested, but yet sustaining all things; free from (the influence of the three) qualities, yet possessing every quality, existing both apart from and yet within existing things, both animate and inanimate." "Spirit, when invested with

[1] Thomson, pp. 87, 88. [2] Ibid, pp. 88, 89, 90, 91.

matter, experiences the influence of the qualities which spring from nature. Its connection with those qualities is the cause of its regeneration in a good or evil womb."

"The Supreme Spirit within this body is called the spectator and admonisher, ... and also the highest soul . . . . He who perceives that the highest lord exists alike, imperishable in all perishable things . . . . . attains the highest path. . . . . When he recognises the individual existence of everything to be comprehended in one, and to be only an emanation from it, he then attains to the Supreme Being. This supreme, eternal soul, even when existing within the body, neither acts nor is affected by action, on account of its eternity and freedom from the qualities. As the ether, though it penetrates everywhere, is not polluted on account of its rarity, so the soul, though present in every (kind of) body is not polluted (by action). As one sun illumines the whole of this world, so does (one) spirit illumine the whole of matter. . . . . Those who thus perceive by the eye of knowledge the difference between *Kshetra* and *Kshetrajna*, and the emancipation of beings from nature, go to the Supreme."[1]

In Chapter XIV., Krishna further teaches what is "great spiritual knowledge." The material essence of the universe, he explains, is called Brahma, but the active and spiritual agent in creation is himself, whether by the name of Krishna, Vishnu, Vâsudeva, or Bhagavat, &c. Every soul of man is imbued with the three qualities "sprung from nature," viz., goodness, badness, and indifference. Goodness is lucid, free from desire; badness arises from appetite, and implicates the soul by action; indifference arises from ignorance, and is the delusion of mortals.[2]

These three qualities, Krishna further explains, must be acknowledged; but, at the same time, man's soul must "comprehend that which is superior to the qualities;" and, "having

[1] Thomson, p. 91. [2] *Ante*, p. 156.

overcome the three qualities which co-originate with the body, the soul, released from regeneration, mortality, age, and pain, eats of ambrosia." Arjuna asks by what sign a person who has overcome the qualities is distinguished, and is told that such an one, "sitting, as if unconcerned, is not agitated by the qualities, and does not waver, is the same in pain and pleasure, self-contained, ... equally-minded towards those whom he likes and those whom he dislikes, equally-minded in blame or praise of himself, such an one is said to overcome the qualities. And he who worships *me* with religious and exclusive devotion, when he has overcome the qualities, is fitted for the existence of the Supreme Spirit. For I, indeed, am the representative of the Supreme Spirit, and of the imperishable ambrosia, and of the eternal law, and of intense happiness."

Chapter XV. compares the eternal revolving current of life to the Pipal, the Aswattha, "the eternal sacred fig-tree, which grows with its roots above and its branches downwards."[1] . . . "When one has hewn down this sacred tree, with its wide-spreading roots, with the steady axe of indifference (to the world), then may that place be sought, to which those who go return no more. . . . . Neither sun nor moon illumine that spot, ... which . . . . . is my supreme dwelling. . . . . . Know that that brilliance which enters the sun, and illumines the whole earth, and which is in the moon and in fire, is of me. And I enter the ground, and support all living things by my vigour. . . . . I nourish all herbs. . . . . I enter the heart of each one, and from me come memory, knowledge, and reason. . . . . Two spirits exist in this world—the divisible and the indivisible. The divisible is every living being. The indivisible is that which pervades all. But there is another—the highest

[1] The poet seems to feel that to destroy interest in life is as difficult as to destroy the roots of the sacred fig-tree, which grow as freely upward as downward; and, he might have added, which spring forth as irrepressibly from brickwork as from earth.

spirit . . . . . the Supreme Soul, which, as the imperishable master, penetrates and sustains the triple world. Since I surpass the divisible, and am higher also than the indivisible, I am, therefore, celebrated in the world and in the Vedas as the highest person (Purusha)."

Krishna finishes this discourse by saying that a man who knows this science will be wise, and do his duty.

In Chapter XVI. Krishna enumerates the virtues of him who is born to the lot of the Devas. These are "fearlessness, purification of his nature, continuance in devotion through spiritual knowledge, almsgiving, temperance and study; mortification, rectitude, harmlessness, truth, freedom from anger, indifference to the world, mental tranquillity, straightforwardness, benevolence towards all beings, modesty, gentleness, bashfulness, stability, energy, patience, resolution, purity, freedom from vindictiveness and from conceit." Whilst the vices of a man born to the lot of the Asuras are "deceit, pride, and conceit, anger, abusiveness and ignorance." He concludes thus : "He who, neglecting the law of Holy Writ, lives after his own desires, attains neither perfection nor happiness, nor the highest walk. Let Holy Writ be therefore thy authority, in the determination of what should be done and what not. Knowing that works are proclaimed in the precepts of Holy Writ, thou shouldest perform actions."

Chapter XVII. teaches that the "faith of mortals may be good or bad." . . . . . Mortal man, who is gifted with faith, attains the same nature "as that on whom he reposes his faith. The good worship the gods, the bad the Yakshas and Râkshasas." . . . . . "Those who practise severe self-mortification, not in accordance with Holy Writ, being full of hypocrisy and egotism, and gifted with desires, passions, and headstrong will, torturing the collection of elementary parts which compose the body, without sense, and torturing me also, who exist in the inmost recesses of the body, are of an infernal tendency." It is the same with sacrifice. Sacrifice, "performed in accordance with

divine law by those who do not look selfishly for its recompence, and who dispose their hearts to (the conviction) that it is right to sacrifice," . . . . . is good. "But know that that sacrifice which is offered by those who regard its recompence, and also for the sake of deceiving (by a false show of piety") . . . . . is bad.

The chapter concludes with observations on *Om, Tat,* and *Sat,* the threefold designation of the Supreme Being. All sacrifices are commenced by pronouncing the word *Om.* Those who perform sacrifice, &c., in desiring final emancipation, without consideration of the reward of their actions, have the conviction that the Deity is *tat.* The word *sat* is used in (reference to the) performance of a laudable action. A quiescent state of sacrifice, mortification, and almsgiving is called *sat;* also action on account of these (rites) is *sat.* But "whatever sacrifice, almsgiving, or mortification is performed, and whatever action is done, without faith, is called *asat.* Nor is that (of any use) to us after death or in this life." [1]

Chapter XVIII. concludes the poem, and gathers up the teaching of the whole with further explanations. In speaking of three kinds of pleasure, Krishna says: "That which is first like poison, but in the end like ambrosia, is good pleasure, sprung from the serenity of one's mind. Whatever is at first like ambrosia, ... but in the end like poison, is bad pleasure. And that, which both at first and in its consequences, is a cause of bewilderment to the soul, arising from sleep, sloth, or carelessness, is called indifferent pleasure. There is no nature on earth, or again among the gods in heaven, which is free from these three qualities." [1] This being the case, a man is born on earth a Brâhmana, Kshatriya, Vaisya, or Sûdra, according to the qualities which predominate in his disposition. The characteristics of a Brâhmana are, tranquillity, mortification, purity,

[1] Thomson, p. 112.

spiritual knowledge. A Kshatriya has valour, glory, strength, firmness, ability in warfare, liberality, and a lordly character. A Vaisya is distinguished for agriculture, commerce, &c.; and for a Sûdra, servitude is the peculiar office. It is then explained that a man "attains perfection" by being satisfied with his "own office," and worshipping "Him from whom all things have their origin, and by whom all this universe is created."

The necessity of performing the duties specially appointed is strongly enforced. "Better to perform one's own duty, though it be devoid of excellence, than (to perform) another's duty well. He who fulfils the office obligated by his own nature does not incur sin. One should not reject the duty to which one is born, even if it be associated with error, for all (human) undertakings are involved in error, as fire is by smoke."

In conclusion, Krishna says again: "Place thy affections on me, worship me, sacrifice to me, and reverence me. Thus thou wilt come to me. I declare the truth to thee. Thou must not reveal this (doctrine) to one who does not practise mortification, nor to one who does not worship at any time, nor to one who does not care to hear it, nor to one who reviles me. Hast thou heard all this, O son of Prithâ! with thoughts fixed on this only? Is the delusion of ignorance dispersed for thee, O despiser of wealth?"

Arjuna replies: "My delusion is destroyed; and by thy favour, Divine One! I have recovered my senses; I remain free from doubt, and will do thy bidding."

The following extract will show the impression which the Bhagavad-Gîtâ made on one of the deepest thinkers of our generation.[1] The author had been speaking of God's communications," through conscience, to the mind of man, and then continues: "There is another contact of God with man's mental being, presenting facts, anticipations, propositions, even words

[1] Thomson, pp. 113—118.

to the mind. . . . . Thus was Job taught, not of the chosen seed, nor possessed of a code of revelation in words. God met his soul's need, when the struggles of his conscience and his whole spiritual being had laid bare to its depth his mind, with all its vast riches and its deep poverty: God met him directly, and left his history also for our instruction. What occurred in his instance, peculiar probably in degree, was surely not in kind unexampled. The ancient Indian who wrote" (in Wilkins' translation) [1] "that God is the gift of charity, God is the offering, God is the fire of the altar, by God the sacrifice is performed, and God is to be obtained by him who makes God alone the object of his work, was one who had experienced somewhat of what Job had experienced or learned from one who had." [2]

That the author of the Bhagavad-Gîtâ was not wholly ignorant of the working of God's spirit on the soul of man, as related in the Book of Job, is shown by the sequel of his poem. So soon as Arjuna understands that Krishna is the supreme universal spirit, he desires, if possible, to behold him in his sovereign form. Krishna complies, as related in chapter XI. The tremendous apparition shakes the heart of Arjuna with awe. Krishna mercifully resumes his usual shape, and gives further instruction in divine mysteries and human deities. Arjuna surrenders. He does not say with Job, "I have heard of thee by the hearing of the ear: but now mine eye seeth thee, wherefore I abhor myself, and repent in dust and ashes." But he says, "My delusion is destroyed; I remain free from doubt; I will do thy bidding."

[1] Bhagavad-gîtâ, translated by C. Wilkins, ch. xi. p. 54.

[2] Discourse on Revelation, by the late Alexander J. Scott, M.A., Professor of Logic in Owen's College, Manchester. See vol. Discourses, published by Macmillan, 1866, p. 50.



Hindu reading the Purânas at a Shrine of the sacred Tulasî Plant.



Krishna trampling on a snake.—Vishnu Purana.

CHAPTER XIII.

The Puranas.

Purânas about ninth century, A.D.—*Ancient legends modernized and exaggerated.—Sanctity of places.—Special gods.—Bhakti faith.—Interesting remarks by Burnouf.*

In opening the Purânas, we feel that we have entered upon a new era of Hindu spiritual life. The Vedas and the Darsanas are not refuted or discarded, but they are stored away. They are treated as venerable title-deeds, to be consulted by the learned few, whilst the daily needs of the nation are supplied by Purânas.

But although Purânas come before us as modernized representations of ancient doctrine, the literal meaning of the word *purâna* is "old." Purânas profess to teach that which is old; but in fact, they give one the impression that the Hindu power

of thought had become old and had lost its former vigour. One feels tempted to say with the poet—

> " 'Tis the old age of day methinks, or haply
> 'Tis the infancy of night."[1]

But it is old age without added wisdom, and night without stars. We feel conscious of a break in the hitherto continuous stream of Hindu spiritual thought. This break may, we believe, be attributed to the disturbance caused in India by Buddhism. But the peculiarities of that important movement, and the influence it exerted for about a thousand years, must for the present be passed aside. The Purânas, although affecting antiquity, are not supposed to be older than the ninth century, A.D., and many of them are probably not so old.[2] They all refer to older sources, and have the appearance of being all constructed according to some ancient model, now lost.

The names of the Purânas are as follows:—the Brahma, Padma, Brahmânda, Agni, Vishnu, Garuda, Brahmavaivartta, Siva, Linga, Nâradîya, Skanda, Mârkandeya, Bhavishya, Matsya, Vârâha, Kûrma, Vâmana, and Bhâgavata.

They are, in reference to religion, sectarian works, expressing the beliefs and aspirations of the worshippers of Vishnu, Siva, &c.

Philosophically, they blend Sânkhya doctrine with that of the Vedânta.

Practically, they were intended as a code of ritual, and, to a certain extent, as a summary of law.

They are written in verse with a view to public recitation at great festivals, "as vehicles for conveying such instruction as the people might be presumed to require." They all begin alike with a cosmogony which merges into genealogies of the gods, and this is followed by a history of the sacred place to which the

[1] Alford's Poems.

[2] H. H. Wilson's works, vol. ii. p. 67. Knight's Encyclopædia, art. "Sanskrit," by Dr. Rost. Burnouf's Intro. to Bhâgavata Purâna.

Purâna is specially dedicated. Thus, in the Brahma-Purâna we find chapters describing the sanctity of Utkala or Orissa,[1] and legends of the god Siva retiring to these woods after his celebrated encounters with the legendary Daksha,—a fact memorialised by a venerable âmra, or mango tree, from which the wood derived its name, ekâmra-kânana, generally called Siva's wood. Adjoining the wood is a pool or tank, sacred to Vishnu, who is said himself to have given leave for the erection of a temple to Siva; and the great ruined city of Bhuvaneswara (or Bobaneswara) is supposed to have arisen in consequence. Mr. Fergusson, however, strongly suspects that originally these buildings bore the chakra and other insignia of Vishnu; and if this be the case, the Brahma-Purâna was not written until the worship of Vishnu had given way to that of Siva. These remarkable temples were erected by Yayâti Kesari, and his successor, Lalita Indra, between the years A.D. 473 and 657.[2]

A second sacred place in Orissa (or Utkala) is the Black Pagoda. Stories about this temple, at which the sun was worshipped, are related, and also wonderful legends, intended to account for the downfall of its great steeple-like Vimâna. The simple facts appear to be, that the temple was built by Raja Langora Narsinh Deo, A.D. 1241; that the great mass of the Vimâna was too heavy for its marshy foundation; and that its priests abandoned its ruins, and its marshes, and its sun-worship, and transferred themselves and their worship to the more healthy temple which had been raised to Vishnu as Jagannâth, at Purî, A. D. 1198.

Of the Padma-Purâna, Professor Wilson says, that it is very long and not very ancient, some portions not older than the fifteenth century. As is usual in Purânas, the first subject discussed is, "how the universe is framed;" and as is also usual

[1] Orissa is the narrow slip of country bounded to the south by the river Godavery, and to the north by the Bay of Bengal.

[2] Fergusson, Hindu Architecture.

in the Purânas, the process described is that of the Sânkhya philosophy,—" from the eternal Pradhâna proceed successively Mahat, Ahankâra, the senses, the rudimental elements, and the gross elements; to which is superadded the egg of creation, as in Manu."

Brahma, or the *neuter form* of Brahmâ, takes the form of Purusha, and gives to nature the germ of activity. It is peculiar to this Purâna to make the neuter, Brahma, the same as the masculine, Brahmâ, which is, in fact, making the instrument of creation the same as the first cause. To use the words of Professor Wilson: " The primeval, excellent, beneficent, and supreme Brahma, in the form of Brahmâ and the rest, is the creation and the creator, preserves and is preserved, devours and is devoured; the first immaterial cause being, as is common in the pantheism of the Purânas, also the material cause and substance of the universe."[1]

Many legends are then related to account for the holiness of certain places, such as Pushkara, or Pokhar Lake, near Ajmir. This spot still retains its sanctity, and is celebrated by the late Colonel Tod " as the most sacred lake in India."[2] Some of the legends given are peculiar to the Padma Purâna, others belong to the general body of Hindu tradition, but are here forced into connection with the sanctity of Pushkara. After these stories, some of which are very puerile, an explanation is given of *Vratas*, or acts of devotion and self-denial required on special occasions. The duty of giving alms to those who beg is illustrated by the

[1] H. H. Wilson's works, vol. iii. p. 24.

[2] Colonel Tod gives a lovely view of the Lake of Pushkar, as sketched by his friend and cousin, Captain Waugh. He describes it as excavated by an old rajah of Mundora. After crossing the Saraswatî he found the sand drifted from the plains by the currents of air, forming a complete bar to the mouth of the valley. "The summits of the mountains to the left were sparkling with a deep rose-coloured quartz." The lake is surrounded by a great variety of architecture. " Every Hindu family," the colonel says, " had its niche here, for the purposes of devotional pursuits, when they could abstract themselves from mundane affairs. The most conspicuous are those erected by Raja Maun, of Jeipore; Ahlya Bhye, the Holkar Queen; Jowar Mull, of Bhurtpore; and Bhye Sing, of Marwar."—Tod's Annals of Rajasthan, vol. i. pp. 773—4.

punishment of Sweta, a king who was condemned to gnaw his own bones after death, as a penance for neglecting to distribute food in charity whilst he lived.

Further on we find an account of the creation in the Padma Kalpa (or Padma age of the world). Nârâyana (identified with Vishnu) was subject to periodical states of sleep. Mârkandeya Muni then, by desire of the deity, entered the celestial body of Nârâyana, and therein beheld an epitome of all that exists. This story occurs in several Purânas, and is told at length in that called the Mârkandeya-Purâna. Brahmâ then became manifest from a golden lotus, and created the world and its divisions out of the several parts of the lotus, from which circumstance this period of creation is called the Padma Kalpa.[1]

The Bhûmi-Khanda, which is the second division of the Padma-Purâna, opens with a question put by the Rishis to the Bard, or Sûta, as to how it happened that Prahlâda, a Daitya, and natural enemy of the gods, could have been inspired with that devotion for Vishnu which led to his being finally united with that deity. It is explained that he was formerly the son of a pious Brahman at Dvârakâ. Being anxious to obtain union after death with Vishnu, he withdrew to Sâlagrâma-Kshetra, and entered into contemplation; for "The imperishable state is not obtained by sacrifice, by penance, by abstract meditation, or by holy knowledge, but by thinking upon Vishnu." But whilst he was endeavouring to "enter the state of Vishnu by the road of profound mental identification," an alarm was spread through the hermitage that the Daityas were coming. Then the unfortunate worshipper had all his thoughts distracted, fear of the god's enemies entered his mind, and, dying whilst under these apprehensions, he was born again as a member of that race.

A discussion then commences on questions not only of the

[1] H. H. Wilson's Works, vol. iii. pp. 27, 30.

merits of Tîrthas, but as to what are Tîrthas. Not only are holy places Tîrthas, but also a parent is a Tîrtha, a Guru, and sometimes a wife.[1]

A story is introduced of a king named Yayâti, which occurs also in the Mahâbhârata and in several of the Purânas, but is accompanied in this place by additional matter. The king is invited by Indra to visit him, and is driven to heaven in Indra's chariot. On the way, a philosophical conversation takes place between the king and Indra's charioteer, named Mâtali. They discuss the imperfection of all corporeal existence and the incomplete felicity of every condition of life. Even the gods, it is said, are affected with disease, subject to death, disgraced by passions, and liable therefore to misery. The proper cure or prevention is the worship of Siva or Vishnu, "between whom there is no difference; they are but one, as is the case indeed with Brahmâ also; for Brahmâ, Vishnu, and Maheswara (Siva) are one form, though three gods; there is no difference between the three; the difference is that of attributes alone." The result of the conversation is, that the king returns to earth, and by his virtuous administration, renders all his subjects exempt from passion and decay. And then the discourse returns to the subject of Tîrthas.

Kunjara, an old parrot, tells stories to his four sons, the moral of which is the good effect of venerating holy men, and meditating upon Vishnu. The subject of Tîrthas continues to the end of the 127th chapter.[2]

At this point the compiler seems to have recollected that this part of the Padma-Purâna was called Bhûmi-Khanda, and Sûta is therefore requested to give a description of the earth. "In reply, he repeats an account attributed to the great serpent Sesha, and related by him to Vâtsyâyana and other sages assembled at the coronation of Vâsuki as king of the serpent

[1] H. H. Wilson's Works, vol. iii. p. 35. [2] Ibid, vol. iii. pp. 36, 37, 39.

race, in which the seven Dwîpas, or insular zones, that form the earth, and the Lokâlokā mountain which surrounds the whole, are described in the usual manner."[1]

The Swarga-Khanda is the third division of this Purâna. It carries on the conversation between the serpent king Sesha and the Munis or Rishis. Stories from the Mahâbhârata and Râmâyana are freely related with modifications, and others are introduced which are unknown to those poems; as, "the generosity of king Sivi in offering his own flesh to rescue a pigeon from the gripe of a hawk, the birds being, in fact, Indra and Agni, who had assumed these shapes to put the benevolence of Sivi to the test."

On another occasion, Narada visits a king, and explains to him the respective obligations of the four castes, and the duties of the different Asramas, or periods of life.

Under the last order, or Asrama, he expounds the nature of Yoga, practical and speculative. Daily observances, or Sadâchâras, are detailed, worship being addressed, of course, to Vishnu and the types of him, the principal of which is the Sâlagrâma stone. Merely to drink water, in which this stone has been immersed, is said to secure "emancipation during life, and the being united with Vishnu after death." The efficacy of sectarial marks is also dwelt upon.

The Pâtâla-Khanda, which is the 4th division, continues the conversation with the serpent king, and describes the different regions of Pâtâla, his kingdom. Numerous legends are given of individuals who figure in the heroic poems, some of which "are told exactly in the same manner as in the Raghu-Vansa," which is a much more modern poem than the Mahâbhârata, the style less poetical, but the words frequently the same.[2]

In the Uttara-Khanda, or last division, a number of communications are made to king Dilîpa about nymphs and demons,

[1] H. H. Wilson's Works, vol. iii. p. 42. [2] Ibid, vol. iii. pp. 41—47.

heavens and hells. Historically the most notable is that Chitrasena, a pious king of Dravida, listened unluckily to the teaching of some Saiva ascetics, and the Râjâ and all his people being converted, demolished the temple of Vishnu, and threw his images into the sea. When the king died, he went to a place of punishment, and was born again as a Pisâcha.

Dilîpa is instructed to precede the ceremony of Dîkshâ by stamping the conch and discus of Vishnu with a hot iron on the arms, to make streaks of red and white clay and chalk on the forehead, and to make silent prayer with the help of a rosary of Tulasî seeds, &c. And on another [1] occasion Dilîpa is made to express a desire to know the Bhagavad-Gîtâ. The holiness of this composition of Vyâsa is then described, and legends are related of individuals who were purified from sin, or released from future existence, by hearing or reading one or two of the sections of the Gîtâ, beginning with the first, and proceeding regularly in succession to the last." [2]

Two chapters treat on the unlawfulness of taking away life,—Durgâ explaining (or confessing) that her sanguinary deeds had been caused by Mâyâ, or Illusion.

Pains are taken to describe Bhakti, or faith in Vishnu, and the various modes by which he should be adored, and dwelling on the great merit which accrues from washing with water in which a Sâlagrâma stone has been immersed. Amongst the efficacious means of obtaining final emancipation is the gift of lighted lamps. The eleventh day of the moon's wane is especially appropriate, and "the merit is great even if the lights be lighted for the purpose of gambling at night in any place dedicated to Vishnu." On certain nights, lamps should be lighted "in houses, gardens, cow-sheds, meetings of public roads, and holy places; and families are to keep awake through the night, and pass it in diversion."

[1] H. H. Wilson's Works, vol. iii. pp. 56, 57. [2] Ibid, vol. iii. pp. 62, 64, 65.

Stories are told of Vishnu's being in love with a variety of persons and of plants which appeared in female forms, to divert his affections from the wife of Jalandhara. Amongst these plants was the Tulasî, ever since held sacred.

Of the Agni-Purâna, Professor Wilson observes that it shows signs of having been composed before the Mohammedans had settled in India; before there was any wide separation between the followers of Siva and the followers of Vishnu; and before Vishnu had begun to be worshipped as Krishna the infant, or Krishna the cow-herd. Some subjects in this Purâna, as "Polity, or the Art of Government," are treated with more than usual interest; and Professor Wilson notes the sections on archery and the shape of weapons as preserving the memory and phraseology of former regal and martial usages. The chapters on law and judicature he finds literally the same as the text of the Mitâksharâ. What is said on medicine is taken from Susruta, and for poetry and rhetoric Pingala is cited. At the conclusion a grammar is given, leaving out the verbs; its system is that of Pânini.

Passing over the Brahma-Vaivartta, we come to the Vishnu-Purâna, which Wilson places the fifth upon his list. This is, of course, intended for the glorification of Vishnu, who is throughout identified with Brahmâ, or, rather, with Parama-Brahma.[2]

The fourth section contains genealogies of the Kânwa princes of Benares, and of ancient dynasties of kings who lived previous to the Kali age. In this portion of the work we find well-told amusing stories of Krishna, who was born amongst the Yadus living at Dwârakâ in Guzerat. The fifth book gives a separate and distinct history of Krishna,—of his infancy amongst the cow-herds on the river Jumna—of his supernatural strength, which enabled him to upset a waggon in childish sport—and, further, of his frolics and adventures amongst the milk-maids so

[1] H. H. Wilson's Works, vol. iii. p. 90. [2] Ibid, vol. iii. pp. 120—130.

soon as he was grown to manhood; and, lastly, come dark pictures of war, which end in the destruction of the whole Yâdava tribe, and in Krishna's being shot by accident, and going to heaven.[1]

The last book of this Purâna has a more religious character; it expatiates on the miseries of human life, "and directs mankind to the only remedy for them—faith in Vishnu as the Supreme."[2] The following are specimens of the manner in which Vishnu is addressed in this work by devout worshippers:

"Glory to him who is one with true knowledge, who is inscrutable, and through whom, seated in his heart, the Yogin crosses the wide expanse of worldly ignorance and illusion! I put my trust in that unborn, eternal Hari, by meditation on whom man becomes the repository of all good things."

"Salutation to thee, who art uniform and manifold! . . . . . Salutation to thee, who art truth and the essence of oblations. . . . . Salutation to thee, whose nature is unknown, who art beyond primeval matter, who existed in five forms, as one with the faculties, with matter, with the living soul, with supreme spirit! Show favour to me, whether addressed as Brahmâ, Vishnu, Siva, or the like. I adore thee, whose nature is indescribable, whose purposes are inscrutable, whose name even is unknown, for the attributes of kind or appellation are not applicable to thee. . . . . . But as the accomplishment of our objects cannot be obtained, except through some specific form, thou art termed by us Krishna, Achyuta, Ananta, or Vishnu. . . . . - To him who is one with true knowledge, who is and is not perceptible, I bow. Glory be to him, the lord Vâsudeva!"

Professor Wilson's concluding remark on the Vishnu-Purâna is, that it is "a sectarial work, but of a much more sober character than such works generally possess, and appropriates to legend and panegyric a comparatively insignificant portion of its contents." The fourth book he regards "as a valuable

[1] H. H. Wilson, Vishnu Purâna, 2nd edition, with notes by Dr. F. Hall.

[2] H. H. Wilson's Works, vol. iii. p. 138.

epitome of the ancient history of the Hindus." The date he thinks, for various reasons, must be as low as the middle of the tenth century.[1]

The Bhâgavata is another Purâna dedicated to the worship of Vishnu, here called Bhagavat. It has within the last twenty years become known to European scholars through the translation of M. Burnouf. In 1838, when Wilson wrote his article on Purânas in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, no Purâna had been translated, and these works were difficult of access even in India; but "since that time, Wilson's translation of the Vishnu-Purâna, with valuable notes, and Burnouf's translation of the greater part of the Bhâgavata-Purâna have appeared in Europe; and in India at least four editions of the Bhâgavata have been published."[2] The form of the Bhâgavata is similar to that of the Purânas already noticed. The Rishis are assembled in the forest of Namuchi, and converse with Sûta (or the bard), and Sûta's poetical reports of these conversations constitute the Purâna. It is believed to be the composition of a celebrated grammarian named Vopaḍeva, who flourished in the twelfth century. M. Burnouf's translation is preceded by a very interesting preface, in which this work is compared with the great poems which it, in a measure, resembles. The style of the Mahâbhârata and the Râmâyana, M. Burnouf considers to be the style of the epopee—simple, animated, broad, and often sublime; whereas the style of the Bhâgavata is laboured and exaggerated, showing considerable variety and high colouring, but exhibiting more warmth than depth. Exception is, however, made in favour of passages in which the author expresses his own experience and faith whilst celebrating that of his hero. The subject is Vishnu, but especially Vishnu living on earth as Krishna, whilst he is, at the same time, identified

[1] Wilson's Works, vol. iii. pp. 138, 139.

[2] Wilson's Works, vol. iii. p. 2, note by Dr. Rost.

with the abstract idea of Deity. Vishnu is the Purusha and Hirangayarbha of the Vedas, the Iswara of the Upanishads, the inspirer of the Mahâbhârata, the spirit of the Sânkhya doctrine. The habit of finding points of union between diverse objects is indeed carried to such excess as to cause much confusion. But M. Burnouf observes that each picture or episode taken singly will reward attention. The whole Purâna may be regarded as a collection of hymns, philosophic fragments and legends.[1]

This mingling of metaphysics with legend and poetry is characteristic of Sanskrit literature. But as the philosophic poet soars into those lofty regions of mental activity, in which it is no more possible for man to maintain spiritual life than it is for him to breathe on the highest summit of the Himalaya, the result is, that reality is lost. M. Burnouf feels, however, deeply interested in the fact, that a people should exist, and should for so long have been existing, to whom such compositions as the Bhâgavata serve as mental nourishment. He expresses amazement that a nation, rich in spiritual gifts, and endowed with peculiar sagacity and penetration, should devote all their faculties to the examining of questions which cannot be solved, and who never feel roused to full consciousness of power unless the object proposed be unattainable. He goes on to observe, that all history shows that the first use which man makes of his intelligence is to speculate on the incomprehensible, and to suppose that he can explain everything whilst yet he knows nothing.[2] "But," he says, "the most celebrated nations of antiquity quickly gave up such sterile attempts, and directed their attention practically to objects bearing on humanity. They abandoned to a few enthusiasts that mental speculation which will ever be the glory of human thought, because they discovered that it was incapable of maintaining the life of communities of men. But India never steadily entered on a practical course; she placed herself under the tutelage of a

[1] Burnouf, Preface, vol. i. p. 134. [2] Ibid, p. 134.

never-ending succession of Rishis and poets, who fed her with tales of gods until she cared nothing for histories of men; and the result has been, that this great India has never cared to know her own past history, or to transmit records of the present to posterity."

In the Bhâgavata, the assembled Rishis, calling upon Sûta (or the bard) to give information on the usual divine subjects, he begins with Bhagavat, which means Vishnu, Hari, or Nârâyana, by the appellation of Bhagavat.

Sûta praises the Rishis for enquiring about this Being who gives the soul repose, and tells them that when Devotion takes Bhagavat for its object, detachment from desire is quickly effected. Whereas the strictest observance of duty, which results not in devotion to Vishnu, is lost labour.[1] Pleasure, or even truth, which ends in this life, has no real value; but when the wise attain that knowledge which excludes duality, some recognise it as Brahmâ, others recognise it as Paramâtman, whilst the persons now assembled perceive it to be Bhagavat. And if they have indeed attained this knowledge, they recognise Bhagavat as the Supreme Spirit to be dwelling within their own individual spirits. The worship of Hari (Bhagavat or Vishnu) is, therefore, the strict duty of every condition and class of men. Meditation, of which Vishnu is the object, is like a sword cutting the cords which enchain a man in self-consciousness. Vishnu, as Krishna, descends into the hearts of men who recite his actions, and expels evil inclinations. And the man who is free from evil inclinations and worships at holy places, acquires *bhakti*, or inextinguishable faith; and his heart, resisting the attacks of desire, cupidity, and other vices, reposes in tranquillity on the bosom of Goodness.

The main purpose of the Bhâgavata-Purâna is to show that Bhagavat or Vishnu is the Supreme Being, manifested under many forms.

[1] Burnouf, Bhâgavata Purâna, vol. i., book ii. pp. 1—13.

"As it is one and the same fire which shines wherever wood is kindled, so the Spirit of the Universe is one, although manifested in every separate creature.

"Creator of worlds, he preserves them by the aid of Goodness, loving to assume, in the sports of his incarnations, the form of god, or man, or animal."[1]

In Book III. Vishnu is described in accordance with modern Hindu representations. He sleeps for ages, on a couch formed by the king of serpents. At length the subtile molecules of elements absorbed within his substance are evolved through the stalk of a lotus. Within the flower Brahmâ appeared as Creator. He sits in the centre of the lotus flower, and, looking to all quarters, he takes four faces, corresponding with the four quarters of the horizon. Feeling compassion for men, he permits them to see the lotus-mark on his feet. His garment is yellow, like filaments of the kadamba flower. He wears a necklace and bracelets of infinite price. He is Bhagavat, an epitome of that which moves and of that which moveth not.[2]

In the ninth chapter, the hymn which Brahmâ chanted is recited. It sets forth that all fear and distress, whether caused by family or friends, or by desire or cupidity, or by such erroneous notions as cause a man to say, "this is mine;" all such evils will endure until the world seeks relief at the feet of Bhagavat.

The closing words are:

"Adoration to Bhagavat, who is that tree of the world from which issue three stems: one to create, one to preserve, and one to destroy the universe."[3]

These slight sketches will suffice to show that Purânas are in truth a recast of older works with additions adapted to later times, and that they are intended to answer the same purpose as the great poems, which also were epitomes of knowledge re-

[1] Burnouf, Bhâgavata-Purâna, book ii.

[2] Ibid, vol. i. p. 363.

[3] Ibid, vol. i. p. 365.

hearsed on public occasions for the instruction of society. Every Hindu knows something of the Purânas, but even many Pandits know them but imperfectly; and as they are voluminous, and eighteen in number, passages from the Bhâgavata and the Vishnu are usually selected. "Most Brâhmans," says Professor Wilson, "who pretend to scholarship are acquainted with two or more of them (the Purânas); and particular sections, as the Devî-Mâhâtmya, are amongst the most popular works in the Sanskrit language. Prayers from them have been copiously introduced into all the breviaries; observances of feasts and fasts are regulated by them; temples, and towns, and mountains and rivers, to which pilgrimages are made, owe their sanctity to legends for which the Purânas, or the Mâhâtmyas, (works asserted, often untruly, to be sections of them), are the only authorities; and texts quoted from them have validity in civil as well as religious law." [1]

The Purânas must, therefore, command the interest of all those who desire to know the sources from which the majority of even good, learned, and religious men in India derive religious doctrine.

Of the Tantras we should hesitate to treat, for Professor Wilson speaks of the "mystical and debasing rites,"—"founded upon the class of works called Tantras," and says that the latter exercise "a most baneful influence upon the manners and principles of the Hindus." [2] Yet the knowledge which Sanskrit scholars in general possess of these works is still very limited, and we may hope, therefore, that there are exceptions to those which Wilson had in his mind when passing this severe judgment; but, in a general way, it would appear that, whilst the Purânas are handbooks or compendiums used by the more educated, the Tantras are compendiums patronized by the less respectable members of Hindu society.

[1] Oxford Lectures, p. 25 (Works, vol. ii. p. 68).
[2] Ibid, p. 39 (Works, vol. ii. p. 84).



"Show me, O Krishna, thy other form, with thy tiara, thy staff, and thy discus in thy hand."—Bhagavad-Gita, Chapter xi.

CHAPTER XIV.

RELIGIOUS SECTS.

Religious sects coeval with Purânas.—Vishnu and Siva developed out of epithets in Vedas and epics.—Vishnu as Krishna.—Râmânuja.—Monasteries.—Vishnu-worship debased.—Bâba Gopâla.—Vallabhâchâryas. - Other sects.—Bhakti faith.—Kabîr.—Nânak.—Tukâ.—Siva sects.—Dandins, self-denying.—Sankara Achâryas.—Vedânta doctrine joined with Yoga.—Debased sects.—Charwâkas.—Durgâ-Pûjâ.—Gods Kâma, Ganesa, Small-pox, &c., not philosophic, local.

Sects arose simultaneously with the Purânas, each sect, like each Purâna, being devoted to the worship of some popular form of one of the chief deities. This is shown as much by ancient

architecture as by written works; the one and the other equally indicating, that after Vedic worship and Buddhism disappeared, religion in India was represented by manifestations of Vishnu and manifestations of Siva. At first these gods were regarded as allies, though not as equals, but gradually they became fierce rivals; that is, the worshippers of the one cherished fierce enmity against the worshippers of the other.

Both Vishnu and Siva were, in a manner, elaborated out of gods (or personified epithets) met with in the Rig-Veda, and a certain resemblance may be detected between the faint tracing in the Veda and the developed god in the Purâna. In the Rig-Veda, Vishnu is the "wide-stepping."[1] His steps make room in the sky. When Indra is about to slay Vrittra, he says, "Friend Vishnu, do thou stride widely."[2] And when wanting room for his thunderbolt, he says again, "Friend Vishnu, stride vastly; sky, give room for the thunderbolt to strike; let us slay Vrittra and let loose the waters."[3] Vishnu is celebrated for having strode over this universe, making three steps; "in three places he planted his step,"[4] which is explained by the Hindu commentator as meaning that Vishnu was the sun, who planted one foot at rising, another on the meridian sky, and a third on the hill at setting. "Vishnu, the unconquerable preserver," is another epithet applied in the hymns to Vishnu. "Sages constantly behold," says another Rishi, "that highest position of Vishnu, like an eye fixed in the sky."[5]

In the two great heroic poems Vishnu still bears this cheerful, friendly character, the difference being, that in the Râmâyana he is represented by Râma, and in the Mahâbhârata by the warrior Krishna. Many years ago, Professor Lassen observed, that it is only "in certain sections, which have been added for the purpose of enforcing their divine character," that Krishna is made to bear

[1] Muir, Orig. Sanskrit T., vol. iv. pp. 68, 54, 59.
[2] R.V. iv. 18, 11.
[3] Rig-Veda, viii. 89, 12.
[4] Ibid, i. 22, 17.
[5] Ibid, i. 22, 18, 20.

the character of Vishnu; and he observes further, on "the unskilful manner in which these passages are often introduced, . . . how loosely connected with the rest of the narrative, and how unnecessary they are for its progress." "The ascription to individual and personal deities of the attributes of the one universal and spiritual Supreme Being, is an indication," Professor Wilson observes, "of a later date than the Vedas, certainly, and apparently also than the Râmâyana, where Râma, although an incarnation of Vishnu, commonly appears in his human character alone."[1]

Altogether, it seems probable that the establishment of an elaborate Vishnu-worship was coeval with the Purânas, but the interpolated passages in the poems act like the shadows which foretell coming events; and in the Râmâyana, record is made of a trial of strength between Vishnu and Siva. The gods requested Brahmâ to find out which were the stronger. For this purpose Brahmâ created enmity between the two. A great and terrible fight ensued: each was eager to conquer the other. "Siva's bow of dreadful power was then relaxed, and the three-eyed Mahâdeva was arrested by a muttering. These two eminent deities being entreated by the assembled gods, Rishis, and Châranas, then became pacified. Seeing that the bow of Siva had been relaxed by the prowess of Vishnu, the gods and Rishis esteemed Vishnu to be superior."[2] But the passage indicates that Vishnu-worship was not yet well established.

Neither does architecture afford proof of an early date to Vishnu-worship; for we learn from Mr. Fergusson that he has discovered no temples to Vishnu which can with certainty be attributed to an earlier date than the beginning of the seventh century, A.D."[3]

[1] The above is cited from Mr. Muir's translation of this passage, given at p. 142, vol. iv., of his Original Sanskrit Texts. In a note Mr. Muir quotes the same opinion given by Wilson in the preface to his Vishnu-Purâna, p. ix.

[2] Muir, Orig. Sanskrit T., vol. iv. p. 147.

[3] Handbook of Architecture, vol. i. p. 168.

The temples at Orissa are among the most ancient of Hindu buildings, and those now devoted to Siva show signs of having originally borne the shell shield and club, which are the insignia of Vishnu. The great mass of buildings in that religious region were obviously erected in honour of Vishnu; and on each side the doorway of every house in the celebrated city of Bhuvaneswara there is a kind of little altar, about two or three feet high, shaped like a temple, the top of which is hollowed out and filled with earth to hold the tulsi plant. The oldest of these temples was built A.D. 657.[1]



Siva, with eight arms. From a sculptured niche on the exterior of the Temple at Barolli.—TOD'S RAJASTHAN, vol. ii. p. 707.

If, now, in like manner we endeavour to trace Siva from small

[1] "In upper India all the old temples I know of have originally been dedicated to Vishnu, though most of them are now appropriated to Siva; and I do not know of a single instance of a conversion the other way; and even the great temple of Bobaneswar (or Bhuvaneswara) appears to have undergone a similar conversion, though not having been allowed to enter it, I speak with less confidence regarding it."—Fergusson, Illustrations of the Ancient Architecture of Hindostan; Introduction, p. 8. *See* also the same work, p. 34.

Fergusson, Handbook of Architecture, vol. i. p. 112.

beginnings in the Vedas, we discover him as Rudra. For the working out of this identification we must refer to Mr. Muir.[1] Rudra means terrible, and is one and the same with fire and storm; and *ugra*, a Sanskrit word for terrible, is an epithet applied equally to Agni, Rudra, and Siva. Advancing from the Vedas to the epic poems, we find Siva a stern fanatic,—one who renounces earthly pleasure and strives to win heavenly power by self-inflicted pain. He is, as it were, the prototype of the magicians of Europe who obtained spells by solitary vigil. In later times Siva is the philosophic god; his third eye is the eye of contemplation. His worship is grave and gloomy, and has never attracted the worship of the populace.[2]

The worship of Siva is, in upper India, far less popular than that of Vishnu. A few great temples, dedicated to this god, have been celebrated; that of Somnath, in Guzerat, being one, and that called Visweswara, in Benares, another. But Professor Wilson says, but little veneration is shown at these shrines. The worshipper first walks round the temple, keeping the right hand to it; he then enters the vestibule, and strikes two or three times upon the bell; "then advances to the threshold of the shrine, presents his offering, which the officiating Brâhman receives, mutters inaudibly a short prayer, accompanied with prostration. . . . . . There is nothing like a religious service; and the rapid manner in which the whole is performed, the quick succession of worshippers, the gloomy aspect of the shrine, and the scattering about of water, oil, and faded flowers, inspire anything but feelings of reverence or devotion."[3]

Professor Wilson is much struck with the absence of interest in Siva-worship; and he says, in his later Lecture given at Oxford,

[1] Muir, Orig. Sans. T., vol. iv. ch. iii.

[2] We find much variety in the representations made of Siva. In poems, he is always said to bear the crescent-moon on his brow, and to be attended by his bull, Nandi. But the wood-cut here given shows neither bull nor crescent-moon, nor the third eye. The elephant's skin, which he wore as an ascetic, the necklace of skulls, the cup made from a skull, and the little drum, are very distinct.

[3] Wilson's works, vol. i. p. 189, and *note*.

1840, that in northern India temples to Siva are mean and little frequented, and the worship has no hold on popular affection: it is not interwoven with the amusement of the people, nor must it be imagined that it offers any stimulus to impure passions." . . . . . "There are no secret rites, no mysterious orgies celebrated in its honour."[1]

When we touch on the various sects of Siva-worshippers in southern India, we shall find more prominence given to the worship of this god; but in the presidency of Bengal it appears to have been from a remote period what it is now, "the religion of the Brâhmans." Sambhu is the name by which Siva is called in the dramas: and "Sambhu,"[2] says Professor Wilson, "is declared by Manu to be the presiding deity of the Brahmanical order."[3]

We now proceed to indicate some of the sects, into which the worshippers of Vishnu and Siva separated.

Beginning with the Vaishnava sects, we find the most important to be the Râmânujas, a sect founded by Râmânuja Achârya, for the worship of Vishnu as Râma. This Vaishnava reformer lived about the middle of the twelfth century. Legend declares that he was an incarnation of the serpent Sesha, and that his chief companions were in like manner embodiments of the discus, mace, and lotus of Vishnu. He was born in the south of India, and lived there until he had composed his principal works. He then travelled, and disputed with those who professed adverse creeds, often reclaiming shrines from Siva, especially the celebrated temple of Tripeti. After his travels he returned to his native country in the south, and when persecuted by the Chola Râjâ, took refuge with the Jain Sovereign of Mysore.

Râmânuja founded numerous Maths, which are learned, con-

[1] Wilson, Oxford Lectures, reprinted in works, vol. i. p. 64.

[2] Wilson's works, vol. i. p. 191.

[3] "Siva is the Adideva of the Brâhmans, Vishnu of the Kshattriyas, Brahmâ of the Vaisyas, and Ganesa of the Sûdras."—Wilson's works, vol. i. p. 2, *note*.

ventual establishments, and instituted seventy-four Guruships (resembling professorships) amongst his followers. In addition to the temples appropriated to Vishnu and his consort, and their several forms, including Râma, Krishna, &c., it is the custom of the Râmânujas to set up images of metal or stone for daily worship within their houses, which they decorate with sâlagrâm stones and tulasî plants.[1]

"The most striking peculiarities in the practices of this sect are the individual preparation and scrupulous privacy of their meals: they must not eat in cotton garments, but having bathed, must put on woollen or silk. The teachers allow their select pupils to assist them, but in general all the Râmânujas cook for themselves; and should the meal during this process, or whilst they are eating, attract even the looks of a stranger, the operation is instantly stopped, and the viands buried in the ground. A similar custom prevails amongst some other classes of Hindus, especially of the Rajput families, but is not carried to so preposterous an extent."

Dr. Buchanan speaks fully of these people in his work on Mysore, and mentions their popular books written in the local dialect.

The Râmânujas are not numerous in the north of India, where Râmânand is better known. He was not an immediate successor, but appears to have been one of the same school, and to have taught at the end of the fourteenth or the beginning of the fifteenth century, A.D. His disciples worship the Râma (or Râmachandra) of the Râmâyana, and reverence also Sîtâ, Lakshman, and Hanumat, as being connected with Vishnu in that manifestation. Râmânand spent a considerable time in visiting the more important places in India, and is said to have quarrelled with the Râmânujas and set up a new sect, because when he returned from his travels the brethren of his monastery declared that he must, in his wanderings, have been violating their strict

[1] Wilson, vol. i. pp. 34—39.

rules about private meals, and refused, therefore, to let him eat with them.[1] Maths or monasteries were a grand feature in the sect-worship of this period. Some monasteries were independent of temples, but every temple of importance, whether dedicated to Vishnu or to Siva, appears to have been surrounded by courts containing cells for monks or priests, and to have included a choultry or great hall. Sheds were, in addition, provided for the accommodation of mendicants (or travellers), who came or went at pleasure, no restraint being ever put upon personal liberty.[2] The whole was arranged on the plan of the Buddhist Vihâras, to which they succeeded. The math or monastery in which Râmânand henceforth lived and taught, was at Benares, where many maths were also established by his followers; and the Panchâyat, or council of these maths, is the chief authority amongst the Râmâvats of the whole of upper India. The superior of the math is called a Mahant; the office sometimes descends in the line of posterity, but is more often obtained by election. Thousands of persons assemble upon these occasions, and the business occupies not less than ten or twelve days. Most of the maths or monasteries have endowments of land, but except at Benares they are usually poor. Lay votaries often contribute to their support. Sometimes the community enters covertly into trade; and food costs little or nothing, being chiefly supplied by the rice, &c., collected daily as alms.

"The tenants of these maths," says Professor Wilson, "particularly the Vaishnavas, are most commonly of a quiet, inoffensive character, and the Mahants (superiors) especially, are men of talents and respectability, although they possess occasionally a little of that self-importance, which the conceit of superior sanctity is apt to inspire."[3] But he adds that there are exceptions to this innocuous character, for that robberies, and even murders, have been traced to these religious establishments.

[1] H. H. Wilson's works, vol. i. p. 46.
[2] Ibid, vol. i. pp. 50—52.
[3] H. H. Wilson's works, vol. i. p. 53.

The Râmâvats differed very little in doctrine from the Râmânujas. They worshipped Vishnu as Râma (or Râmachandra). and they reverenced the Sâlagrâm stone and the Tulasî plant, The chief deviation appears to have been, a relaxation of the ordinances which Râmânand had found so inconvenient; and the Râmâvats, in consequence, "admit no particular observances with respect to eating or bathing." They are very numerous on the plains of the Ganges, admit all castes, and, with the exception of the Rajputs and the military Brâhmans, consist chiefly of the poorer and inferior classes.

These and the other sects hitherto mentioned are "ascetic;" but there are sects of a very different character which attach themselves to the worship of Krishna in conjunction with Râdhâ, or to Krishna as Bâla-Gopâla, "the infant Krishna." This wor-



Infant Krishna. Bopa Gopâla.

ship of the infant Krishna is practised by a very numerous sect called, from the title of its teachers, the Gokulastha Gosains. The original philosophic portion of its tenets was taught by Vishnu Swâmin, who is said to have been born A.D. 1478. He admitted only Brâhmans, and Brâhmans, moreover, who had become Sannyâsins. He was followed, though not perhaps immediately, by Vallabha Swâmin, who resided originally at Gokul,

near Mathurâ, on the Jumna; and from him the sect obtains its names of Vallabhâchâryas and Gokulastha Gosains, devotees of the place called Gokul.

Vallabhâchârya made many journeys, but finally settled at Benares, where at length, having accomplished his mission, he is said to have entered the Ganges and ascended to heaven, in the form of a brilliant flame.[1]

The most important innovation introduced by Vallabhâchârya and the Gosains is, that privation formed no part of sanctity, and that the teachers and disciples should have costly apparel and choice food, and should indulge freely in the pleasures of society. This dangerous doctrine has led to much vice, and to the formation of a sect called the Vallabhâchâryas, which has attained lately a degree of unenviable notoriety at Bombay, in consequence of a noble protest entered against them by Mr. Karsandâs Mûljî in a native newspaper, entitled the Satya-Prakâsa,—"Light of Truth:" Bombay, 21st October, 1860. Mr. Karsandâs Mûljî pronounces the tenets of the Vallabhâchâryas to be "heterodox,"—at variance with the "primitive religion of the Hindus;" and all the best-informed Hindus will join with us in thanking him for having raised the question.

The Vallabhâchâryas or Mahârâjas contrive to found their doctrine on the tenth book of the Bhâgavata-Purâna, which contains a history of Krishna, and is published separately under the name of "Prem Sâgar, or the Ocean of Love." "Doubtless its true character," says Mr. Karsandâs Mûljî, "is symbolical or allegorical; whereas the Mahârâjas, by interpreting it literally, have converted its abstruse significations into a code of vicious immorality."[2] The work from which we quote is a valuable contribution to literature for many reasons; amongst others, because it records the excellent judgment of Sir J. Arnould, the opinions of the press in all parts of India, and the belief of an enlightened

[1] Wilson's works, vol. i. p. 121.

[2] History of the Sect of Mahârâjas or Vallabhâchâryas in Western India, 1865, p. 48.

and well-born Hindu that immoral doctrine is not justified by the sacred writings of Hindus.

A much less objectionable form of Vishnu-worship was inculcated by an enthusiast, named Chaitanya, who was born A.D. 1485. He was revered as an incarnation of Krishna, and wrote long expositions in Bengali, into which he introduced Sanskrit texts on Faith (bhakti). Chaitanya married the daughter of Vallabhâchârya, but at the age of twenty, having fulfilled his obligations to society, he became a professed devotee, or "Vairâgî," meaning a person "devoid of passion;" one, whose devotion has rendered him impervious to human emotion. Six years he spent travelling and teaching; then, for twelve years, he lived at Cuttack, where he energetically enforced the worship of Vishnu as Jagannâth. He practised self-denial and meditation on Krishna to excess, and seems ultimately to have fallen into a state approaching to insanity. He indulged in beatific visions; and in one of these, thinking that he saw celestial beings sporting in the sea, he walked into it, but was rescued by a fisherman. Finally, however, he died or disappeared about A.D. 1527.

Another Vaishnava teacher, to whom it is a pleasure to refer, is Kabîr. "With unprecedented boldness," says Professor Wilson, "he assailed the whole system of idolatrous worship, and ridiculed the learning of the Pandits and the doctrines of the Shâstras, in a style peculiarly well-suited to the genius of his countrymen." [1] The indirect effect of his teaching was greater even than its immediate influence; for Nânak Shâh, who established the national faith of the Sikhs, "appears to have been chiefly indebted for his religious notions to his predecessor, Kabîr." Kabîr was claimed by the Mussulmans as of their persuasion, but he was a disciple of Râmânand; and when he died his Hindu disciples burnt his body, and deposited the ashes in the spot now called the Kabîr Chaura, at Benares. A tomb was also erected to him by the Mussulmans, near Gorackpore, where he died. The

[1] H. H. Wilson's works, vol. i. p. 153.

Kabîr-Panthîs are included amongst Vaishnava sects, but address their hymns to the invisible Kabîr.

Another Vaishnava sect was founded by Dâdû, a cotton cleaner of Ajmir. "Draw your mind forth from within," he taught, "and dedicate it to God; because, if ye subdue the imperfections of your flesh, ye will think only of God." Vishnu as Râma was one of his names for God, for he says: "Dâdû loved Râm incessantly; he partook of his spiritual essence, and constantly examined the mirror which was within him." The Dâdû-Panthîs, like the Kabîr-Panthîs, are examples of the doctrine of *Bhakti,* which, as mentioned by Professor Wilson, was an important innovation introduced by Chaitanya. *Bhakti* is "a term that signifies a union of implicit faith with incessant devotion." When attained, it is more efficacious than subjugation of passions, charity, or knowledge. It was, therefore, a dangerous doctrine, but one effect was that, as all men are alike capable of faith and devotion, all castes must, by such sentiments, become equally pure. In accordance with this we find the celebrated Dâdû to have been by caste a cotton cleaner; and that Tukâ, with whom we must close our notice of Vaishnava teachers, was a *vânî,* or shop-keeper. Tukârâma is a Marâtha poet, born at the end of the sixteenth or the beginning of the seventeenth century. He lived in the village of Dehu, about ten miles from Punah. He worshipped Vishnu as Râm, Vital, or Vithoba. His hymns express ardent love for God, whose tenderness he describes as the tenderness of a mother for her child. To attain God, he says the heart must be lowly. "Lowliness" excites no man's envy. Trees are carried away by the flood, whilst rushes remain. Religious ceremonies and outward acts have no power, he holds, to release from sin. "Without faith," says Tukâ, "all is vain." [1]

If we turn now to the sects which are associated with Saiva-

[1] Tukârâm, a Study of Hinduism. By Sir Alexander Grant.—Fortnightly Review.

worship, we shall find the most important under the name of Dandî. Dandîs are ascetics, conforming to the way of life prescribed for Sannyâsîs in the code of Manu. The ideal Dandî abandons home, takes up his staff and his begging-pot, and asks food in alms,—but only once each day. He learns patiently to bear disease, strives to know God and to fix his attention upon God alone. He is called a Dandî because he carries a small wand or dand. Dandîs are not exclusively devoted to Siva, but those who are practical rather than speculative "are most correctly included amongst the Saiva sects;"[1] and amongst these, the worship of Siva as Bhairava is the prevailing form. The Dandî should live alone, and near to, but not within, a city. Their custom is, however, to live in cities collected like other mendicants in maths. Although Sannyâsîs were the most holy of Brâhmans, Hindus of any caste are admitted amongst the Dandîs. One peculiarity attaching to these people is, that they bury the dead in coffins, or, when practicable, commit them to some sacred stream. The reason given for this is, that when the Sannyâsî or Dandî abandons family life he also abandons the use of fire; and it is observed, that the ascetic followers of Vishnu in the north of India (called Vairâgîs) do the same; and the class of Hindu weavers, called Yogîs, appear to have adopted the similar practice of burying instead of burning the dead.[2]

The Dasnâmîs or Dasnâmî-Dandîs, are a division of the Dandîs, which is said to owe its origin to the learned Sankara-âchârya. This distinguished teacher was a native of Malabar, and his influence in southern India was remarkable. He established numerous maths or monasteries in his native country; but, as was the custom with the learned men of his age, he spent much of his time in travelling, engaging in successful controversy, defeating the sects of Vishnu, and extending the worship of Siva. Towards the close of his life he visited Kashmir, the Saraswatî river, and

[1] Wilson's works, vol. i. p. 196. [2] Wilson's works, vol. i. p. 196, *note*.

the Himalaya mountains. He is supposed to have lived in the eighth or ninth centuries. Many valuable works, chiefly commentaries, were written by Sankara, and by descendants, who appear to have belonged exclusively to the mendicant classes and to Sankara-âchârya; and apparently most of the leading intellects of India took the abstract Siva as the type of Supreme Deity, but to this they added Vedânta doctrine, and more or less of Yoga practice. Doctrine of this kind is also advocated by Rammohun Roy, in his works on the Vedânta and the Upanishads.

The beautiful temples in western India, described by Colonel Tod in the second volume of his "Rajasthan," are dedicated to Siva. In an exterior niche of one of these temples at Barolli he found the bas-relief of Siva, with eight arms, which we have given at page 261 of this chapter. In another compartment he discovered the mild-looking Siva, with three heads, as below,—the third eye, typical of intellect. being very marked.[1]



Most distinctly opposed to the intellectual and spiritual belief adopted by Sankara was that of the Chârvâkas or materialists,

[1] For elucidation of the snakes around this figure, we must refer to Mr. Fergusson's recent work, on Tree and Serpent Worship.

the disciples of Vrihaspati. Something of their doctrine may be gathered from the drama called Prabodhachandrodaya, of which a notice will be found in our section on dramas.

But little more space can be allowed for sects; for the horrid Durgâ-pûjâ and other noisy festivities which amaze Europeans, are what may be called aberrations from recognised Hindu worship. These have never been countenanced by those whom we should consider as genuine Hindus; and well-educated native gentlemen of the present day would not reckon these abominations as included in Hindu national worship.[1]

"The Saurapâtas, those who worship Sûryapati, the sun-god," are very few in number, and "scarcely differ from the rest of the Hindus in their general observances." . . . . . Their necklace should be of crystal; they eat one meal without salt on every Sunday; and moreover, they cannot eat until they have beheld the sun.[2]

And again, the worshippers of Ganesa, the fat man with an elephant's trunk, can scarcely be considered a distinct sect. "All Hindus, in fact, worship this deity as the obviator of difficulties and impediments; and never commence any work, or set off on any journey, without first invoking his protection." But Ganesa is never, we understand, the exclusive object of veneration.[2]

Other gods or goddesses are local or occasional,—as a goddess of small-pox or cholera, or of any other evil which strikes dismay into human hearts; but such worship is usually confined to the more ignorant classes.

[1] Wilson's works, vol. i. p. 216.

[2] Wilson, l. l., vol. i. p. 266.





"Let the king establish rules for the sale and purchase of all marketable things, duly considering whence they come," &c.—Manu, viii. 401.

CHAPTER XV.

CODE OF MANU.

Origin of Caste.—Divinity of Brâhmans not taught in older works.—Industrious classes.—Villages self-governed.—Agriculture; trade; taxes; money.—Penal enactments.—Theoretical Sûdras.—Women.—Kshattriyas; Brâhmans; life from birth to death.

The Code of Manu assumes that Brâhmans were created to study and teach the Vedas, and perform sacrifice; Kshattriyas, to protect the people; Vaisyas, to be industrious; and Sûdras, to be servile. But in Sanskrit works, anterior to the Yajur-Veda, no such system is to be found.

Mr. Muir has collected many passages relating to the subjcet, and finds it "abundantly evident that the sacred books of the Hindus contain no uniform or consistent account of the origin of castes, but, on the contrary, present the greatest varieties of speculation;" . . . . "the freest scope," Mr. Muir says further, "is given by the individual writers to fanciful and arbitrary conjecture."[1]

The common story is, that the castes issued from the mouth, arms, thighs, and feet of Brahma. In its oldest form this representation was probably an allegory. In the Code of Manu, and in the later works called Purânas, the mystical import disappears, and "the figurative narration is hardened into a literal statement of fact." The conclusion at which Mr. Muir consequently arrives is, "that the separate origination of the four castes was far from being an article of belief universally received by Indian antiquity." Society was undoubtedly divided into a variety of ranks, classes, and professions, but was not in the time of the hymns believed to have been derived from four distinct sources.

"On the contrary, it appears from a considerable number of passages, that at least the superior ranks of the community were regarded as being of one stock,—the Aryan."[2] . . . . .

There is, in fact, no plea in Hindu sacred books for divine origin of caste; but there is much evidence that, from very early periods, Brâhmans were assumed to be divine, as in the Taittirîya-Brâhmana it is written—

"The Brâhman caste is sprung from the gods; the Sûdra from the Asuras."[3]

The Sanskrit word for caste is *varna*, which means colour; and Professor Lassen suggested that this probably betokened that difference of complexion was the ground of distinction of

[1] Muir, Orig. Sanskrit T., vol. i. (2nd ed.), 1868, pp. 159—160.

[2] Muir, Orig. Sanskrit T., vol. i. (2nd ed)., p. 162.

[3] Ibid, p. 21.

caste,—the pale-coloured Hindus being at the top of the caste-scale, and the dark or "black-skinned" aborigines at the lowest end.

Darkness of skin was, we have observed, often used as a term of reproach in Vedic hymns, and is applied to the enemies who neglect sacrifice, who are sometimes further described as having flat noses and indistinct speech.

The Hindus came from the north, and were fairer than the people whom they found already in possession of the country of India; and as the darker race was made subservient by conquest, "colour" (*varna*) would naturally be regarded as a test of rank. The division of mankind into four classes was, no doubt, at first a simple and convenient division, the four classes being the—

Ecclesiastical	Brâhmans.
Military	Kshatriyas.
Industrial	Vaisyas.
Servile	Sûdras.

We have already traced out some of the steps by which Brâhmans became the all powerful regulators of society, as shown in their sacrificial Vedas, and their ritual, legendary and mystical Brâhmanas. They also made rules, called *Kalpa-Sûtras,* to regulate the great public festivals; and prescribed *Grihya* (or domestic) ceremonies, by which the daily life of a believer was brought under the control of a spiritual guide, or Guru. These rules[1] were given in *Grihya-Sûtras,* and practices, sanctioned by custom and tradition, were laid down by them in *Sâmayâchârika-Sûtras.* From the latter class of works, especially, resulted *Dharma-Sâstras,* or so-called codes of law, and amongst these codes, the most prominent is the "Code of Manu," which forms

[1] Several Kula-dharmas, belonging originally to certain Vedic Charanas, have been brought to notice by Professor Max Müller.—A. S. L., pp. 133—135.

the subject of the present chapter. Social and religious duties are to be recognised as synonymous, *dharma* being the word which designates law, whether social, civil, moral, or religious. A Dharma-Sâstra (or law-book) treats of three principal topics: *âchâra*, rules of conduct; *vyavahâra*, judicature; and *prâyaschitta*, penance.

There seems, then, to be no doubt that "the laws of Manu," and the other metrical codes "are founded on the habits and customs laid down in the works complementary to the Grihya works;" which works "complete the Kalpa works; and without the Kalpa works the practical Vedas would be unpractical." "Thus," observes the writer from whom we have been quoting, "the chain which links religion and politics together" is completed. The codes show that "society cannot perform the duties prescribed in these sacred books unless it possesses a king who watches over the safety of the people; but a king cannot exist without the produce of the land; land, however, yields no produce without rain; rain is sent down by the favour of the gods; such favour is obtained by means of sacrificial acts; but where there is no Brâhman there is no sacrificial act: king and Brâhman thus close the circle within which the people has to obey the behests of both."[1]

This view of early Brahmanical influence sufficiently explains the institution of caste. We do not see it in the Code of Manu in its earliest stages; but this Code is their genuine exponent, or rather matured representative; and it is one of the highest value, because it gives a freer and fuller view of Hindu life in early periods, and of the occupations permitted and not permitted, than any other work to which we have access.

The name, "Laws of Manu," somewhat resembles a 'pious fraud;' for the "Laws" are merely the laws or customs of a school or association of Hindus, called the Mânavas, who lived

[1] Westminster Review for January, 1864, p. 20. On the Inspired Writings of Hinduism.

in the country rendered holy by the divine river Saraswatî.[1] In this district the Hindus first felt themselves a settled people, and in this neighbourhood they established colleges and hermitages, or *âsramas,* from some of which we may suppose Brâhmanas, Upanishads, and other religious compositions may have issued; and under such influences we may imagine the Code of Manu to have been composed.

The Mânavas were undoubtedly an active, energetic people, who governed themselves, paid taxes to the king, established internal and external trade, and drew up an extensive system of laws and customs, to which they appended real and imaginary awards. This system appears to have worked so well that it was adopted by other communities; and then the organizers announced it as laws given to men by their divine progenitor, the great Manu. They added passages, moreover, which assert the divine claims of Brâhmans, and the inferiority of the rest of mankind. Such assertions are little more than rhetorical flourishes; for Brâhmans never were either so omnipotent or so unamiable as the Code would represent them; nor were Sûdras ever so degraded. In Sanskrit plays and poems, weak and indigent Brâhmans are by no means infrequent; and on the other hand, we meet with Sûdras who had political rights; and even in the Code, find the pedigrees of great men traced up to Sûdra ancestors. Practically, the Code attaches importance to the men by whom the work of life was carried on. They lived in small towns and villages, defended from enemies by walls, fences, and embankments. On the boundaries of their villages, strong trees were planted,—as the pipal, the sâl, the palâsa, the udumbara; and, further, to prevent disputes with neighbouring villages, it is decreed that—

"Lakes and wells, pools and streams, ought also to be made on the common limits and temples dedicated to the gods."[2]

[1] *Ante,* ch. iii. [2] Manu, viii. 248.

Other land-marks must be concealed under ground, as—

"Large pieces of stone, bones, tails of cows, bran, ashes . . . . .

"And substances of all sorts, which the earth corrodes not, should be placed in jars not appearing (above ground).

"By such marks, or by the course of a stream, and long-continued possession, the king may ascertain the limit between the lands of two parties in litigation."[1]

The wolves and other wild beasts which inhabited circumjacent jungles, were probably the cause of the following enactment, that within the walls—

"On all sides of a village or small town, a space be left for pasture, in breadth either four hundred cubits, or three casts of a large stick; and thrice that space round a city or considerable town.

"Within that pasture-ground, if cattle do any damage to grain in a field uninclosed with a hedge, the king shall not punish the herdsman.

"Let the owner of the field enclose it with a hedge of thorny plants, over which a camel could not look; and let him stop every gap through which a dog or a boar could thrust his head."[2]

Other laws again remind one that they were in an arid country; as, penalties attached to injuring great trees,[3] to stealing the rope or the water-pot from a well, breaking down a cistern,[4] or to not making wells and pools, is sufficient evidence.

There is no positive description of a town; but we read of the treasury, the arsenal, the temple of a deity; of "prisons placed near a public road, where offenders may be seen wretched or disfigured." And, amongst places much frequented, we find taverns, bakehouses, victuallers' shops. And again, we read of "squares, where four ways meet," large well-known trees, assemblies and public spectacles, old court-yards, thickets, the houses of artists, empty mansions, groves and gardens, as places

[1] Manu, viii. 250—252.
[2] Ibid, 237—239.
[3] Manu, viii. 285.
[4] Ibid, 319.

which must be watched and guarded, as likely to become the haunts of thieves.[1]

Agriculture is treated with respect; and, according to the theory of the Code, was to be carried on by the caste called Vaisyas.

"Let the Vaisya, having been girt with his proper sacrificial thread, and having married an equal wife, be always attentive to his business of agriculture and trade, and to that of keeping cattle.[2]

"Never let a Vaisya be disposed to say, 'I keep no cattle.'[3]

"If land be injured by the fault of the farmer himself (as if he fails to sow it in due time), he shall be fined ten times as much as the (king's) share (of the crop, that might otherwise have been raised); but only five times as much, as if it was the fault of his servants without his knowledge.[4]

"Let him be skilled likewise in the time and manner of sowing seed, ... and in the bad and good qualities of land. Let him also perfectly know the correct modes of measuring and weighing."[5]

"Let him apply the most vigilant care to augment his wealth, by performing his duty; and with great solicitude let him give nourishment to all sentient creatures.[6]

In other verses, introduced possibly at a later period, it is said that should a Brâhman or Kshattriya be obliged by distress to subsist by the acts of a Vaisya, they

" . . . . . must avoid with care . . . . . the business of tillage, which gives pain to sentient creatures, and is dependent on (the labour of) others.

"Some are of opinion that agriculture is excellent; but it is a mode of subsistence which the benevolent greatly blame; for the iron-mouthed pieces of wood not only wound the earth, but the creatures dwelling in it."[7]

The tract of land on which the Mânavas dwell, although

[1] Manu, ix. 264.
[2] Ibid, 326.
[3] Ibid, 328.
[4] Ibid, viii. 243.
[5] Manu, ix. 330.
[6] Ibid, 333.
[7] Ibid, x. 83, 84.

named Brahmâvarta, "abode of the gods," is, and ever has been, a dry and sandy district, in which little would have grown without the aid of agriculture. This accounts for the very early invention of drill-ploughs, a model of which was exhibited at the Great Exhibition in 1851,[1] and for the manner in which these ancient farmers economized, not only the seed but the soil. "Rice-plants," they say, "mature in sixty days;" therefore, in the same ploughed field husbandmen sow the seeds of plants which require transplantation: such as "mudga, tila, mâsha, barley, leeks, and sugar-canes," which would be planted out long before the rice-plants had come to maturity.[2]

Spinning was already a common occupation for women; for it is said, that if a man goes abroad and leaves his wife without support, she must "subsist by spinning."[3] The necessity of keeping cotton threads moist whilst spinning is also alluded to; as—

> "Let the weaver who has received ten palas of cotton-thread, give them back increased to eleven, by the rice-water, &c."[4]

Of manufactures, we shall have more to say in our chapter on commerce, products, and manufactures; but amongst the manufacturers or artizans, we find the jeweller prominent in the days when these laws of the Mânavas were instituted. The village jeweller seems to have worked then as he does now,—sitting on the ground in the open air, with an open fire and the simplest tools imaginable. The Code is justly jealous of his honesty, for it says:—

> "The most pernicious of all deceivers is a goldsmith who commits frauds; the king shall order him to be cut piece-meal with razors."[5]

Every town or village had its own goldsmith, and often its own peculiar fashion of ornamentation.

[1] Results of Great Exhibition, p. 455.
[2] Manu, ix. 38, 39.
[3] Ibid, 75.
[4] Manu, viii. 397.
[5] Ibid, ix. 292.

Cultivators, merchants, artizans, and others pursuing industrial occupations, formed the village community, which virtually governed itself.

The Code desires the king, for the sake of preserving his dominions, to observe the following rules:—[1]

"Let him appoint a lord of one town with its district, a lord of ten towns, a lord of twenty, a lord of a hundred, and a lord of a thousand.

"Let the lord of one town certify of his own accord to the lord of ten towns any (robberies, tumults, or other) evils, which arise in his district (and which he cannot suppress); and the lord of ten to the lord of twenty.

"Then let the lord of twenty towns notify them to the lord of a hundred, and let the lord of a hundred transmit the information himself to the lord of a thousand townships.

"Such food, drink, wood, and other articles, as by law should be given each day to the king by the inhabitants of the township, let the lord of one town receive as his perquisite.

"Let the lord of ten towns enjoy the produce of two plough-lands (or as much ground as can be tilled with two ploughs, each drawn by six bulls); the lord of twenty, that of five plough-lands; the lord of a hundred, that of a village or small town; the lord of a thousand, that of a large town.

"The affairs of those (townships) . . . . . let another minister of the king inspect, and[2]

"In every large town or city, let him appoint one superintendent of all affairs, elevated in rank, formidable in power, distinguished as a planet among stars.

"Let that governor from time to time survey all the rest in person, ... and know their conduct in their several districts.

"Since the servants of the king whom he has appointed guardians of districts, are generally knaves, who seize what belongs to other men; from such knaves let him defend his people."[3]

This office is now usually exercised by a headman, called the *Patel* (*Patil*), or in some places *Chaudhârî* or *Mandal*. Mr. Elphinstone[4] speaks of this village despot as the successor of the

[1] Manu, vii. 113.
[2] Ibid, 115—120.
[3] Manu, vii. 121—123.
[4] Hist. of Ind., App. v., p. 249.

king's agent appointed in the Code. The office has now become hereditary, and in point of fact, he is rather the representative of the people than the agent of the king. He is still, however, recognised in the latter capacity; and the Government often exercises its right, by determining which individual, out of the privileged family, shall succeed to the office. The headman of the village still receives a certain allowance from the king or government, but the greater part of his income is derived from fees paid by the villagers.

This system is no longer found in every part of India; but there is reason to believe that it once prevailed throughout the country, and that each village had its own officers, who signed their names with the tools they used.[1] They were—the registrar, watchman, cartwright, washerman, barber, goldsmith, and poet, who also served as schoolmaster.[2] And in further evidence that the institution originated with the Hindu mind, and went with the Sanskrit-speaking people just wherever they went, we have the statement of Sir Stamford Raffles, that Bali, an island to the east of Java, possesses the Sanskrit language, Brahmanical religion, *and* municipal institutions. Again, in Java are village-associations, bearing the Indian name, *Nagri*, which Mr. Crawfurd mentions as corporations governed by officers of their own election. This system is noted also by Sir Charles Metcalfe, as giving the indestructible atoms which last where nothing else lasts.[3]

The chief connection of these communities with the general Government was, that whilst they paid taxes the king was required to afford them protection in case of war.

"As a leech, the suckling calf, and the bee, take their natural food little by little, thus must a king draw from his dominions an annual revenue.

"Of cattle, of gems, of gold and silver, (added each year to the capital

[1] *See* Dr. Royle's lecture on the Great Exhibition.

[2] Elphinstone's Hist. Ind., p. 63.

[3] Sir C. Metcalfe, Report of Select Committee of House of Commons, 1832, iii. Appendix 84, p. 331.

stock,) a fiftieth part may be taken by the king; of grain an eighth part, a sixth, or a twelfth, (according to the difference of the soil and the labour necessary to cultivate it.)

"He may also take a sixth part of the clear annual increase of trees, fleshmeat, honey, clarified butter, perfumes, medical substances, liquids, flowers, roots, and fruit.

"Of gathered leaves, potherbs, grass, utensils made with leather or cane, earthen pots, and all things made of stone."[1]

A revenue which took tithe of flowers, fruit, and potherbs, would be intolerably troublesome in our large communities; but this may not have been the case in the districts where it prevailed; and the arrangements referring to trade, which almost immediately follow, have a most business-like, practical character. There is early evidence of trade in India. Merchants are alluded to in the Rig-Veda, although Rig-Veda Hindus were not apparently acquainted with the sea.[2] But from other sources we gather, that the products of India reached Greece in the time of Homer; and Egypt, Jerusalem, and Persepolis, in the days of Joseph, King Solomon, and of Queen Esther.

But although the advantages of trade were recognised by the Mânavas, they do not speak of the men who engaged in it with much respect. They were often, probably, of foreign or unorthodox birth; and, even if born amongst Brahmanical Hindus, they would be likely to adopt foreign ways, and to find Hindu modes of worship too difficult for constant performance in their roving, gipsy life. And thus we read :—

"Those sons of the twice-born, who are said to be degraded, and who are considered as low-born, shall subsist only by such employments as the twice-born despise,

"Sûtas by managing horses, ... Ambashthas by curing disorders, ... Mâgadhas by travelling with merchandize."[3]

Greater honour is given to occupations which could be carried

[1] Manu, vii. 129—132. [2] *Ante*, ch. iii. p. 54. [3] Manu, x. 46, 47.

on within sanctified precincts; and therefore, lending money at interest is one of the respectable means of acquiring property.[1] Trade seems to have been carried on then by natives, as since by Europeans in India, by a system of "advances." The rate of advance was, however, placed under legal regulation.

"A lender of money may take, in addition to his capital, ... an eightieth part of a hundred by the month.

"Or he may take two in the hundred by remembering the duty of good men; for by taking two in the hundred, he becomes not a sinner for gain.

"He may thus take, in the direct order of the classes, two in the hundred (from a Brâhman), three (from a soldier), four (from a Vaisya), and five (from a mechanic or Sûdra), but never more as interest by the month."[2]

Respecting loans, the re-payment of which is subject to the contingency of the safe arrival of goods sent by sea or by land, and also regarding the price chargeable as freight, we read:

"A lender at interest on (the risk of) safe carriage, who has agreed on the place and time, shall not receive such interest, if (by accident) the goods are not carried to the place, or within the time.

"Whatever interest (or price of the risk) shall be settled (between the parties) by men well acquainted with sea-voyages, or journeys by land, with times and with places, such interest shall have legal force."[3]

"For a long passage, the freight must be proportioned to places and times; but this must be understood of passages up and down rivers. At sea there can be no settled freight."[4]

Tolls at ferrys are carefully determined:—

"The toll at a ferry is one pana for an empty cart; half a pana for a man with a load; a quarter for a beast used in agriculture, or for a woman; and an eighth for an unloaded man.

"Waggons filled with goods packed up, shall pay toll in proportion

[1] Manu, x. 115.
[2] Ibid, viii. 140—142.
[3] Manu, viii. 156, 157.
[4] Ibid, 106.

to their value; but for empty vessels and bags, and for poor men ill-apparelled, a very small toll shall be demanded.[1]

"But a man who passes a toll-office (at night), or who makes a false enumeration (of the articles bought), shall be fined eight times as much as their value."[2]

For persons in difficulties, or troubled for ready money, it appears to have been the custom to pawn their goods, or raise money on goods or land. Amongst many regulations on this, are the following:—

". . . . . A pledge must not be used by force, ... the pawnee so using it must give up his whole interest, or must satisfy the pawner, (if it be spoiled or worn out.) . . . . .

"Neither a pledge nor a deposit are lost to the owner by lapse of time."[3]

Only, if for ten years the owner sees his chattel enjoyed by others, and says nothing, that chattel shall not be recovered, unless the owner be an infant or an idiot. Some of the regulations regarding pledges doubtless refer to the case of men whose wants are beyond their means, but more often they refer to the usual transactions of commerce, and are made in a practical, earnest spirit, showing that they meet a want actually experienced.

"Interest on money, received at once (not month by month, or day by day, as it ought) must never be more than enough to double the debt (that is, more than the amount of the principal paid at the same time), on grain, on fruit, on wool or hair, on beasts of burden (lent to be paid in the same kind of equal value), it must not be more than enough to make the debt quintuple.

"Stipulated interest beyond the legal rate, and different from the (preceding) rule, is invalid; and the wise call it an usurous way (of lending), the lender is entitled at most to five in the hundred."

"Interest upon interest" is objected to, also "interest exacted

[1] Manu, viii. 404, 405. [2] Ibid, 400. [3] Ibid, 144, 145.

(as the price of the risk, where there is no public danger or distress.")

"He who cannot pay the debt (at the fixed time), and wishes to renew the contract, may renew it in writing (with the creditor's assent), if he pay all the interest then due."[1]

"But if (by some unavoidable accident) he cannot pay the whole interest, he may insert (as principal) in the renewed contract so much of the interest accrued as he ought to pay."[2]

The prices of saleable commodities are to be determined by men acquainted with such commodities, one-twentieth of the profit on sales being due to the king. The verse which we next quote must be received with allowance.

"Let the king establish rules for the sale and purchase of all marketable things, having duly considered whence they come (if imported), and (if exported), whither they must be sent; how long they have been kept, what may be gained by them, and what has been expended on them."[3]

It is an interesting verse, inasmuch as it gives farther evidence of the importance attached to commerce; but we do not believe that if a king or other authority had seriously interfered with trade, there would ever have been any trade of sufficient importance to have needed the regulations.

In the same spirit it is said that—

"Once in five nights, or at the close of every half month (according to the nature of the commodities), let the king make a regulation for market prices in the presence of those (experienced men).

"Let all weights and measures be well ascertained by him, and once in six months let him re-examine them."[4]

We are inclined to believe that, in point of fact, the "experienced men" made the regulations, independent of the king. The money used is thus described:—

[1] Manu, viii. 151—154.
[2] Ibid, 155.
[3] Manu, viii. 401.
[4] Ibid, 402, 403.

"Those names of copper, silver, and gold weights, which are commonly used among men, for the purpose of worldly business, I will now comprehensively explain.

"The very small mote which may be discerned in a sunbeam passing through a lattice is the least visible quantity, and men call it *trasarenu;*

"Eight of these *trasarenus* are supposed to be equal in weight to one minute poppy seed; three of those seeds are equal to one black mustard-seed; and three of those last to a white mustard-seed;

"Six white mustard-seeds are equal to a middle-sized barleycorn: three such barleycorns to one raktikâ, or seed of the *Gunjâ.*"[1]

We thus find that one hemp-seed (gunja) was the weight called *raktikâ,* or rati, but the weight of hemp-seeds vary according to the soil and climate in which they are grown, and the length of time they have been kept, and the atmosphere to which they have been exposed. Consequently, Mr. Thomas found, "in attempting to ascertain the relation of the weights of ancient and modern days, and to follow the changes that time and local custom may have introduced into the static laws of India," that the capital point to be determined was the "true weight of the *rati,* as it was understood and accepted when the initiatory metric system was in course of formation."[2] From the work just cited we learn also that, when the Mohammedans first entered Bengal, they found an exclusive *cowrie,* or shell-currency, "assisted possibly by bullion, in the larger payments, but associated with no coined money of any description."[3]

According to Manu, trade and banking were occupations assigned to Vaisyas,—men who received "a second birth," and wore a sacred thread; but so many punctilious ceremonies were required from men so privileged, and so many useful occupations forbidden to them, that from these causes, and also owing to

[1] Manu, viii. 131—134.

[2] Initial Coinage of Bengal. By E. Thomas, Esq., in J. R. A. S., vol. ii. New Series, p. 150.

[3] Initial Coinage of Bengal. By E. Thomas, Esq., in J. R. A. S., vol. ii. New Series, p. 147.

mixed marriages, it came to pass that a considerable amount of the necessary work of life was carried on by men who wore no thread, by mixed castes, or even by those whom the Code entitles "low-born."

Catching wild beasts in toils, or animals that live in holes, catching fish,[1] taming elephants,[2] managing horses, and driving cars, are occupations to be followed by the low-born. And even "striking musical instruments," joinery, masonry, painting and writing, are enumerated as mechanical employments permitted to one degraded, or to a Sûdra in distress.[3]

On these, and on many other points, the theory of the Code sets up a most confused and narrow standard of right and wrong. But men are better than their theories; and, usually, where the Code is practical, a moral standard is recognised. We will instance the regulations concerning drunkenness and gambling. "Cudgel-players, boxers, actors, and men addicted to gaming or drinking," are cited as persons possessed by the bad or "passionate" quality. Drinking forbidden spirits is ranked with the crime of killing a Brâhman; and even smelling at any spirituous liquor must be avoided by a Brâhman, lest, "stupefied by drunkenness," . . . . . he might "pronounce a secret phrase of the Veda;" and—

> "When the divine spirit, or the light of holy knowledge which has been infused into his body, has once been sprinkled with any intoxicating liquor, even his priestly character leaves him, and he sinks to the low degree of a Sûdra."[4]

Elsewhere it is said, that a twice-born man must atone for drinking spirit of rice by drinking spirit in flame;[5] and that a drunken priest will migrate into the body of a worm.[6] Drinking

[1] Manu, x. 32, 48, 47.
[2] Ibid, viii. 45.
[3] Ibid, x. 49, 99, 100.
[4] Manu, x. 97, 98.
[5] Ibid, xi. 90.
[6] Ibid, xii. 56.

water from a vessel in which spirits have been kept, or giving away spirits, must be atoned for; and if a Brâhman, "who has once tasted the holy juice of the moon-plant, even smell the breath of a man who has been drinking spirits, he must remove the taint by thrice repeating the *gâyatrî*, while he suppresses his breath."[1] A soldier, merchant, or priest, drinking arak, mead, or rum, are offenders in the highest degree.[2]

Nevertheless, "stealing spirituous liquors," or "materials for making spirituous liquor," was punished as other thefts.[3]

By no vice do the ancient Hindus appear to have been so constantly tormented as by gambling. "Learn at present," says the Code, "the law concerning games of chance."

"Gaming, either with inanimate or with animated things, let the king exclude wholly from his realm: both these modes of play cause destruction to princes.[4]

"Such play with dice (and the like), or by matches (between rams and cocks), amounts to open theft, and the king must ever be vigilant in suppressing both (modes of play).

"Let the king punish corporally, at discretion, both the gamester and the keeper of a gaming-house, whether they play with inanimate or animated things.

"Gamesters, public dancers, and singers, revilers of scripture, open heretics, sellers of spirituous liquor, let him instantly banish from the town."[5]

And further, to discourage this and other vices, it is decreed that money

". . . . . idly promised (to musicians and actresses), or lost at play, or due for spirituous liquors, the son (of the surety or debtor) shall not (in general) be obliged to pay."[6]

Much pains is taken to enforce honesty. A man who puts

[1] Manu, xi. 148—150.
[2] Ibid, viii. 235.
[3] Ibid, 326, 329.
[4] Manu, ix. 221.
[5] Ibid, 222, 224, 225.
[6] Ibid, viii. 159.

good grain at the top of his sack, whilst the grain beneath is bad, must be punished. So must a washerman, who mixes the clothes of one person with those of another, or allows any one but the owner to wear them.[1] But many of the punishments announced are rather ludicrous than earnest.

A man who steals gold from a Brâhman will get sore fingers; a man who steals dressed grain, dyspepsia; an unauthorised reader of scripture, dumbness; the stealer of a lamp, blindness.[2] Of the same character are the transmigrations which await thieves:

"If a man steal grain in the husk, he shall be born a rat; if a yellow mixed metal, a gander.

"If he steal flesh-meat, a vulture; if oil, an oil-drinking beetle.

"If exquisite perfumes, a musk-rat; if potherbs, a peacock; if dressed grain, a porcupine."[3]

But these passages merely show the erratic and perhaps humorous element in Hindu imagination. Truth and honesty are enforced with earnestness and solemnity. "On the denial of a debt, which the defendant has in court been required to pay,"[4] witnesses must be called. Familiar friends, menial servants, those who have a pecuniary interest, and enemies, cannot be admitted as witnesses.

"One man, untainted with covetousness (and other vices), may (in some cases) be the sole witness, and will have more weight than many women, because female understandings are apt to waver; or than many other men who have been tarnished with crimes."

A man who gives false witness falls headlong, after death, into a region of horror. His soul gives evidence against him, and the gods see him.

[1] Manu, viii. 396.
[2] Ibid, xi. 49—52.
[3] Manu, xii. 62, 63, 65.
[4] Ibid, viii. 52, 77, 75.

"The sinful have said in their hearts, 'None sees us.' Yes, the gods distinctly see them; and so does the spirit within their breasts.

"In cases where no witness can be had, between two parties opposing each other, the judge may acquire a knowledge of the truth by the oath of the parties, (or) if he cannot (otherwise) perfectly ascertain it."[1]

The solemnity of an oath is then dwelled upon; and it is said, that he "who takes an oath in vain, shall be punished in this life and the next."[2] To increase the value of the oath, the judge is directed, on great occasions, to cause the accused to "hold fire, or to dive under water; or, severally, to touch the heads of his children and wife."[3]

"He, whom the blazing fire burns not, whom the water soon forces not up, or who meets with no speedy misfortune, must be held veracious in his testimony on oath."[4]

These modes of ascertaining the truth of testimony, or the innocence of persons accused, are called trial by ordeal. We shall have occasion to enter more fully into the subject when treating of the later Code of Yâjnavalkya.

The fourth caste, according to the Code, includes all who are not privileged to wear the sacred thread. They are created from the *foot* of Brahmâ, meaning at first, probably, that they were the conquered aborigines. Brâhmans say they were created to wait upon the twice-born; and that never, under any circumstances, can a Sûdra escape from the servile state into which he came by birth. A Sûdra cannot wear the sacred thread; therefore, a Sûdra cannot offer fire-sacrifice, or read the Veda, or even hear the Veda read. A twice-born man is forbidden even to read the Veda to himself, if a Sûdra be present. For a Brâhman to teach the Veda to a Sûdra, was a great sin; and to receive money for doing so, was still more unpardonable.

"They who receive property from a Sûdra for the performance of

[1] Manu, viii. 85, 109.
[2] Ibid, 111.
[3] Manu, viii. 114.
[4] Ibid, 115.

rites to consecrated fire, are contemned as ministers of the base, by all such as pronounce texts of the Vedas.

"Of those ignorant priests who serve the holy fire for the wealth of a Sûdra, the giver shall always tread on the foreheads, and thus pass over miseries (in the gloom of death)."[1]

In other passages the twice-born are represented as jealous of Sûdras; as, that they must not amass riches, lest by insolence and neglect they should give pain to Brâhmans. And again, they must not exercise judicial functions; and if a king should "stupidly look on whilst a Sûdra decides causes, his kingdom will be embarrassed, like a cow in deep mire."[2] Twice-born men are, moreover, warned not to reside in "cities governed by Sûdra kings."[3] Other circumstances lead one to believe, that Hindus of the Aryan race evinced so great a tendency to coalesce with the people whom they found already occupying India, that the laws on caste were propounded by the Brâhmans, with a view to prevent alliances between the two races; and thus preserve their own class, as well as their religion, from an apprehended degradation.[4] This feeling probably dictated the rules by which a wife is to be selected.[5]

With regard to rights of property, as also to religious rights, Sûdras are constantly classed in the Code with women; as—

"Although to attain the celestial world is denied to Sûdras, 'a woman or a Sûdra' may perform acts 'leading to the chief temporal good.'"[6]

And women are so absolutely without rights, that they are not merely on a level with Sûdras, but with all slaves, servants, and children.

"Three persons,—a wife, a son, and a slave,—are declared by law to

[1] Manu, xi. 42, 43.
[2] Ibid, viii. 21.
[3] Ibid, iv. 61.
[4] The Code is, however, inconsistent on this point; for there are verses saying, that "even from poison may nectar be taken," . . . . . and "even from the basest family a woman bright as a gem." And such a woman may "a believer in Scripture receive."—II. 238—240.
[5] *See* p. 298.
[6] Manu, ii. 223.

have (in general) no wealth exclusively their own; the wealth which they earn is (regularly) acquired for the man to whom they belong.[1]

"A wife, a son, a servant, a pupil, and a (younger) whole brother, may be corrected, when they commit faults, with a rope, or the small shoot of a cane.[2]

"For women, children, persons of crazy intellect, the old, the poor, and the infirm, the king shall order punishment with a whip, a twig, or a rope."[3]

There is ample evidence, however, that Hindus awarded love, admiration, amusements, jewels and other ornaments, liberally to a beloved wife. The peculiarity of the system being, that a woman could have nothing of her own, the Code requires that a man should receive and support constantly a wife given by the gods, if she be virtuous, even though he married her not from inclination.[4]

"To be mothers, were women created; and to be fathers, men; religious rites, therefore, are ordained in the *Veda* to be performed (by the husband), together with the wife."

And on announcing that women cannot be invested with the sacred thread, it is added:—

"The nuptial ceremony is considered as the complete institution of women, ordained for them in the *Veda*."[5] . . . . .

And, since women can have no happiness except in marriage, it is announced to be the duty of every man to "give his daughter in marriage, according to law, even though she have not attained her age of eight years."[6] If no suitable bridegroom has been provided after waiting three years, she may then choose one for herself; but if she "thus elects her husband, she shall not carry with her the ornaments which she received from her father." And, moreover, she cannot, under any circumstances, transmit

[1] Manu, viii. 416.
[2] Ibid, 299.
[3] Ibid, ix. 230.
[4] Manu, ix. 96, 97.
[5] Ibid, ii. 67, 92.
[6] Ibid, ix. 87.

her rank to her children. The son of a Sûdra, by a woman of a twice-born caste, is "the lowest of mortals."[1]

On the other hand, if men of the twice-born classes marry women of the lowest class, they very soon degrade their families and progeny to the state of Sûdras.[2] If a Brâhman take a Sûdrâ (as his first wife), he even sinks to the regions of torment.[3]

The reason given for this strict prohibition is—

"His sacrifices to the gods, his oblations to the manes, and his hospitable attentions to strangers, must be supplied principally by her; but the gods and manes will not eat such offerings, nor can heaven be attained by such hospitality."[4]

If a man marry again, the other wives may be of inferior rank without injury to him; but their children will be of lower rank. More liberty in marriage is, of course, allowed for a man than for a woman. But Hindu institutions are remarkable for never recognising woman apart from her relationship to man. The woman belongs to the man.

"To be mothers, were women created.[5]

"Day and night must women be held by their protectors in a state of dependence; but (in lawful and innocent recreations), though rather addicted to them, they may be left at their own disposal.

"Their fathers protect them in childhood; their husbands protect them in youth; their sons protect them in age: a woman is never fit for independence.

"Let the husband keep his wife employed in the collection and expenditure of wealth, in purification and female duty, in the preparation of daily food, and the superintendence of household utensils."[6]

In poems and dramas, women are represented as very loving and much loved; but there is absolutely no resource for women who have bad husbands or no husbands. And this seems to have led,

[1] Manu, x. 12.
[2] Ibid, iii. 15.
[3] Ibid, 17.
[4] Manu, iii. 18.
[5] Ibid, ix. 96.
[6] Ibid, 2, 3, 11.

by degrees, to female infanticide, wherever women superabounded, and also to the dreadful custom of widows burning themselves on the funeral piles of their late husbands. The Code does not hint at such a practice, but it gives reiterated precepts on the necessary dependence of women. Even if the husband be devoid of good qualities, or enamoured of another woman, "yet a husband must constantly be revered as a god by a virtuous wife."

"No sacrifice is allowed to women, apart from their husbands; no religious rite, no fasting. As far only as a wife honours her lord, so far she is exalted in heaven."

She must do nothing unkind to him, be he living or dead:

"Let her emaciate her body, by living voluntarily on pure flowers, roots and fruit; but let her not, when her lord is deceased, even pronounce the name of another man.

"Let her continue till death forgiving all injuries, performing harsh duties."[1]

And thus "she will ascend to heaven." But never "is a second husband allowed in any part of this Code to a virtuous woman."

The virtues which the Code inculcates upon the Kshattriya class, whether kings or soldiers, are bravery and mercy.

"Never may a noble monarch, guardian of the people, fly,
Should a greater foe assail him, or a less his arms defy."[2]

His peculiar duty is to protect his people; and, so long as he does that, he may take "even a fourth part (of the crops of his realm), at a time of urgent necessity (as of war or invasion)."[3]

The modes by which warfare should be carried on would be worthy the attention of any one interested in military tactics, but cannot be admitted in this compendium. We must, however, note that "a pitched battle" should, if possible, be avoided; but when, by the king's valour, the enemy is routed,—

[1] Manu, v. 154—158; 160—162. [2] Ibid, vii. 87. [3] Ibid, x. 118.

"Having conquered a country, let him respect the deities (adored in it), and their virtuous priests; let him also distribute largesses (to the people), and cause a full exemption from terror to be proclaimed."[1]

The rules for soldiers in battle are also singularly considerate. Sharp weapons concealed in wood are forbidden; also poisoned arrows. A man in a car on horseback must not strike one on the ground, or a suppliant. And further, a man engaged in combat, must—

"Spare him whom his long hair, loosen'd, blinds, and hinders from to fly;
Spare him, if he sink, exhausted; spare him, if for life he crave;
Spare him, crying out for mercy, 'Take me, for I am thy slave!'"[2]

The temporal advantages claimed for ambitious Brâhmans in the Code are extravagant; but the ideal which it presents to us of a religious and learned Brâhman is quite beautiful. An unlearned Brâhman, they say, is no better than "an elephant made of wood, or an antelope made of leather."[3] Or again; a "Brâhman, unlearned in holy writ, is extinguished in an instant, like a fire of dry grass."[4] Or, "as liberality to a fool is fruitless, so is a Brâhman useless, if he read not the holy texts."[5] But if he "has read (and understands) the Veda,"[6] he becomes the highest object of worldly reverence.

"He who truly and faithfully fills both ears with the Veda, must be considered as equal to a mother. He must be revered as a father; him the pupil must never grieve.

"A man is not, therefore, aged because his hair is gray; him surely the gods consider as aged who, though young in years, has read (and understands) the Veda."[7]

[1] Manu, vii. 199—201.
[2] Ibid, 90, 91.
[3] Ibid, ii. 157.
[4] Ibid, iii. 168.
[5] Manu, ii. 158.
[6] Ibid, 156.
[7] Ibid, 144, 156.

It may here be remembered, that in order to sanctify a twice-born man, whether Brâhman, Kshattriya, or Vaisya, certain *sanskâras*, or essential ceremonies, were requisite, which are fully described in the Grihya Sûtras, and are referred to by Manu. About the eighth year, and certainly not later than the sixteenth, the investiture, hallowed by the gâyatrî, must take place,—this being the investiture called a second birth.[1] The youth extends his right hand whilst the cord is passed over his head and fixed on his left shoulder; and until these ceremonies be completed he is not permitted to pronounce any sacred text, because he is on a level with a Sûdra until he has obtained the new birth. But having received investiture, a Brâhman youth must live for many years with a venerable preceptor, called his *Achârya*.

Reverence for a teacher and for elders is strongly inculcated. If a young man be sitting on a couch and a superior approaches, "let him rise to salute a superior."

"The vital spirits of a young man mount upwards (to depart from him), when an elder approaches; but by rising and salutation he recovers them.

"A youth, who habitually greets and constantly reveres the aged, obtains an increase of four things: life, knowledge, fame, strength.

"After the word of salutation, a *Brâhman* must address an elder, saying: 'I am such an one,' pronouncing his own name.

"The priest who girds his pupil with the sacrificial cord, and afterwards instructs him in the whole *Veda*, with the law of sacrifice and the sacred *Upanishads*, holy sages call an *Achârya*."

He who gives sacred knowledge is a more venerable parent than the natural father; "since the second or divine birth ensures life to the twice-born, both in this world and hereafter eternally."

"As he who digs deep with a spade comes to a spring of water, so the student, who humbly serves his teacher, attains the knowledge (which lies deep) in his teacher's mind."

[1] Manu, ii. 63.

In conclusion, be it observed, that the sun must never rise or set whilst the student lies asleep:

"Let him adore God, both at sunrise and sunset, as the law ordains."[1]

A community so carefully trained under Brahmanical influences was not likely to disappoint entirely their Brahmanical organizers; but neither would it entirely realise the idea proposed.

There are so many interesting passages in the chapter dedicated to a student's duties, that it is difficult to omit them; but we have but small space for the remainder of the Brâhman's life, and must therefore pass on to the period when the student is at liberty to return home "and assume the order of a married man."

"Let the twice-born man, having obtained the consent of his venerable guide, and having performed his ablution with stated ceremonies on his return home, as the law directs, espouse a wife of the same class with himself, and endued with the marks of excellence."[2]

She must not be related within the sixth degree. She must have good health; must not be immoderately talkative; must not have the name of a constellation, of a tree, or of a river, of a barbarous nation, &c.; she must walk (gracefully), like a phenicopterus, or like a young elephant; must have hair and teeth moderate respectively in quantity and in size, &c., &c.;[3] and must not have reddish hair.

Having married, let the Brâhman pass the second quarter of his life in his own house; but "let him never, for the sake of a subsistence, have recourse to popular conversation."[4]

The Brâhman, keeping house, is exhorted to perform daily, without sloth, his peculiar duty; but he must not gain wealth by music or dancing, or any art which pleases the sense. By studiously improving his intellect, let him preclude excessive attachment to such pleasures.

[1] Manu, ii. 119—122; 140, 218, 222.
[2] Ibid, iii. 4.
[3] Manu, iii. 5—10.
[4] Ibid, iv. 1—11.

"Let him pass through this life bringing his apparel, his discourse, and his frame of mind, to a conformity with his age, his occupations, his property, his divine knowledge, and his family."[1]

Oblations to consecrated fire, at the beginning and end of day and night, and at the close of each fortnight, are prescribed; and "at the end of the year let his oblations be made with the juice of the moon-plant." He must also be hospitable, and "take care, to the utmost of his power, that no guest sojourn in his house unhonoured with a seat, with food, with a bed, with water, with essential roots, and with fruit."

"To waste himself with hunger, or to wear old and sordid clothes," is not approved for a Brâhman who keeps house.

The third part of a Bràhman's life is thus announced:—

"Having thus remained in the order of a housekeeper, as the law ordains, let the twice-born man, who had before completed his studentship, dwell in a forest, his faith being firm and his organs wholly subdued.

"When the father of a family perceives his muscles become flaccid and his hair grey, and sees the child of his child, let him then seek refuge in a forest.

"Abandoning all food eaten in towns, and all his household utensils, let him repair to the lonely wood, committing the care of his wife to her sons, or accompanied by her (if she choose to attend him).

"Let him take up his consecrated fire, and all his domestic implements of making oblations to it, and, departing from the town to the forest, let him dwell in it with complete power over his organs (of sense and of action).

"Let him wear a black antelope's hide, or a vesture of bark; let him bathe evening and morning; let him suffer the hairs of his head, his beard and his nails, to grow continually.

"From such food as himself may eat, let him, to the utmost of his power, make offerings and give alms; and with presents of water, roots, and fruit, let him honour those who visit his hermitage.[2]

"Let him be constantly engaged in reading the *Veda;* patient of all

[1] Manu, iv. 14—16; 18, 25, 29, 34. [2] Ibid, vi. 1—7.

extremities, universally benevolent, with a mind intent on the Supreme Being; a perpetual giver, but no receiver of gifts; with tender affection for all animated bodies.

"Let him, as the law directs, make oblations on the hearth with three sacred fires; not omitting in due time the ceremonies to be performed at the conjunction and opposition of the moon.

"Let him also perform the sacrifice ordained in honour of the lunar constellations, make the prescribed offering of new grain, and solemnize holy rites every four months, and at the winter and summer solstices." [1]

Frugality is enforced, penance appears optional. He may eat a mouthful less each day of the bright fortnight, or he may live on flowers and roots,—or he may perform other penances.

"Let him slide backwards and forwards on the ground; or let him stand a whole day on tiptoe; or let him continue in motion, rising and sitting alternately; but at sunrise, at noon, and at sunset, let him go to the waters and bathe.

"In the hot season, let him sit exposed to five fires; in the rains, let him stand uncovered; in the cold season, let him wear humid vesture; and let him increase by degrees the austerity of his devotion."[2]

Thus "enduring harsher and harsher mortifications, let him dry up his bodily frame," and then—

"Having reposited his holy fires, as the law directs, in his mind, let him live without external fire, without a mansion, wholly silent. . . .

"These and other rules must a Brâhman, who retires to the woods, diligently practise; and for the purpose of uniting his soul with the divine spirit, let him study the various *upanishads* of scripture."

If he has an incurable disease, he may feed on water and air until mortal frame totally decay, and his soul become united with the Supreme. But if he have no such disease, he may enter on a fourth portion of life, and become a Sannyâsin. This state is open only to a man who has passed from order to order, and has made oblations to fire (on his respective changes of state).

[1] Manu, vi. 8—10. [2] Ibid, 22—24.

"After he has read the Vedas in the form prescribed by law, has legally begotten a son, and has performed sacrifices to the best of his power, he (has paid his three debts, and he) may then apply his heart to eternal bliss."

But if a Brâhman have not performed these sacrifices, and yet aim at final beatitude, he shall sink to a place of degradation. A very pleasing picture is drawn of the Brâhman in his fourth estate; one, "by whom not even the smallest dread has been occasioned to sentient creatures."[1]

"Departing from his house, taking with him pure implements (his waterpot and staff), keeping silence, unallured by desire of the objects near him.

"Alone let him constantly dwell, observing the happiness of a solitary man, who neither forsakes nor is forsaken.

"Let him have no culinary fire, no domicile; let him (when very hungry) go to the town for food; let him patiently bear disease; let his mind be firm; let him study to know God, and fix his attention on God alone.

"An earthen waterpot, the roots of large trees, coarse vesture, total solitude, equanimity toward all creatures,—these are the characteristics of a Brâhman set free.

"Let him not wish for death; let him not wish for life; let him expect his appointed time, as a hired servant expects his wages.

"Let him bear a reproachful speech with patience; let him speak reproachfully to no man; let him not on account of this (frail and feverish) body, engage in hostility.

"Delighted with meditating on the Supreme Spirit, sitting fixed in such meditation, without needing anything earthly, let him live in this world seeking the bliss of the next."[2]

In this fourth state, his hair, nails and beard, are to be clipped; and bearing with him a dish, a staff, and a water-pot, he must wander about continually.

"Only once a day let him demand food.

[1] Manu, vi. 25, 29, 31, 36, 40. [2] Ibid, 41—45; 47, 49, 52.

"At the time when the smoke of kitchen fires has ceased, when the pestle lies motionless, when the charcoal is extinguished, when people have eaten, and when dishes are removed (that is, late in the day), let the Sannyâsin always beg food.

"For missing it, let him not be sorrowful; nor for gaining it, let him be glad: let him care only for a sufficiency to support life."[1]

The Sannyâsin is forbidden to explain omens and prodigies, or to gain daily support by skill in astrology and palmistry, to which occupations his reputation for sanctity would probably tempt him. On this account, also, he is forbidden to attract attention by having long hair or nails. The aim is, that he should conquer not only bodily appetites, but desire of approbation and sympathy.[2]

"By the coercion of his members, by the absence of hate and affection, and by giving no pain to sentient creatures, he becomes fit for immortality.

"Let him reflect on the transmigrations of men, caused by their sinful deeds, on their downfall into a region of darkness, and their torments in the mansion of Yama.

"On their separation from those whom they love, and their union with those whom they hate, on their strength, overpowered by old age, and their bodies racked with disease. . . . . .

"On the misery attached to embodied spirits, from a violation of their duties, and the imperishable bliss attached to them from their abundant performance of duties. . . . . .

"For the sake of preserving minute animals by night and by day, let him walk, though with pain to his own body, perpetually looking on the ground. . . . . .

"Let him observe the progress of this internal spirit through various bodies . . . . . (a progress) hard to be discerned. . . . . .

"He, who fully understands the perpetual omnipresence of God, can be led no more captive by criminal acts; but he who possesses not that sublime knowledge, shall wander again through the world.[3]

"A mansion, with bones for its rafters and beams; with nerves and

[1] Manu, vi. 54—57. [2] Ibid, 50, 52. [3] Ibid, 60, 61, 62, 64, 68, 73, 74.

tendons for cords; with muscles and blood for mortar; with skin for its outward covering. . . . . .

"A mansion, infested by age and by sorrow, the seat of malady, harassed with pains, haunted with the quality of darkness; such a mansion of the vital soul let its occupier always cheerfully quit.

"As a tree leaves the bank of a river (when it falls in), or as a bird leaves the branch of a tree (at his pleasure); thus, he who leaves his body (by necessity or by legal choice), is delivered from the ravening shark (or crocodile) of the world."[1]

[1] Manu, vi. 76, 77, 78.

CHAPTER XVI.

CODE OF YAJNAVALKYA.

THIS Code or Dharma-Sâstra ranks as second in importance to that of Manu. It is much shorter, and although without date, shows many signs of more recent origin. It is not, however, so attractive as its diffuse, but eminently poetical, predecessor. Its topics are similar, namely :—Achâra (custom, caste), Vyavahâra (laws affecting property), Prâyaschitta (penance and expiation) ;—these being the three points on which every complete law-code is expected to treat. The author, or medium through which the inspired contents were communicated, is supposed to be Yâjnavalkya, a holy personage who lived in Mithilâ, now called Tirhut. He is thus addressed :—

"The Munis, after adoration to Yâjnavalkya, Lord of Yogîs, thus addressed him :—

"'Reveal to us the several duties of the castes, of the orders, and of the others.'

"The Prince of Yogins, who then abode in Mithilâ, meditating for a moment, said to the Munis :—

"'Hearken to the rules of duty in the country of the black antelope.'"[1]

The prince of Yogins next mentions fourteen "repositories of

[1] Book i. vv. 1, 2.

the sciences and of law;" these being,—"the four Vedas, the Purânas, the Nyâya, the Mîmânsâ, the Dharma-Sâstras, and the six Angas."

He next gives a list of twenty persons who have promulgated Dharma-Sâstras:—Manu, Atri, Vishnu, Hârîta, Yâjnavalkya, Usanas, Angiras, Yama, Apastamba, Samvarta, Kâtyâyana, Brihaspati, Parâsara, Vyâsa, Sankha, Likhita, Daksha, Gotama, Sâtâtapa, and Vasishtha. And then the idea of law is explained.

"The Sruti, the Smriti,[1] the practice of good men, what seems good to one's self, and a desire maturely considered,—these are declared to be the root of Law.

"Four learned in the Vedas and in the Law, form a Court or Traividya. Whatever is declared by this (Court), or by a single person who has, in an eminent degree, knowledge of the soul in its relations,—the same should be (held as) Law."[2]

Part of the first book of Yâjnavalkya, and the whole of the second, have been translated into English by Dr. Röer, and Mr. Montriou, of Calcutta; and we have also the whole Code translated into German by Professor Stenzler. These translations enable us to observe that, whilst some subjects are treated of precisely as Manu treated them, the two Codes are by no means identical. We propose, therefore, to transcribe a few passages, choosing, for the most part, such as show a progressive change in customs, or as are in themselves of interest.

And here we may first observe, that writing is referred to as freely as if the work had been composed at the present time.

"The representation, as made by the plaintiff, is to be put in writing, in presence of the defendant; the year, month, half-month, day, names, caste, &c., being given."

The answer must also be given in writing, the defendant being

[1] According to Manu, ii. 10, the former are the Vedas, the latter the Dharma-Sâstras.
[2] Yâjnavalkya, i. 7, 9.

required to furnish a written statement in support of his assertions.[1] In another verse it is stated, that "legal proofs" are "writing, possession, and witnesses."[2] The suspicion which attached to witnesses in a court of justice, and the modes taken to test their veracity, are very characteristic of India. Hindus are close observers of expression of countenance, manners, and gestures; and when a man comes into court, if he "moves from place to place," if he lick the corners of his mouth, if his forehead sweat, if he change colour, if his words come stammering from a dry throat, if he make no response to word or look, if he contract the lips, thus changing his natural manner, "he is to be set down as false in his complaint," or, if he be a witness, as false in his testimony.[3]

Belonging to the same system of suspicion and superstition are the trials by ordeal, which are thus described.

"The scales, fire, water, poison, the sacred draught,—these are the ordeals for exculpation, in case of grave accusations, if the accuser be prepared to pay a fine.

"When it is agreed on, one of the parties shall perform (the ordeal), the other be in readiness to pay the fine. Even without a fine, there shall be trial by ordeal, in case of treason or great crime.

"(The accused,) being summoned, shall, after bathing at sunrise, and fasting, be made to go through the several ordeals, in presence of the monarch and the Brâhmans.

"The scales are (the ordeal) for women, children, aged men, the blind, the lame, Brâhmans, and those afflicted with disease. Fire or water, or the seven barleycorns' weight of poison, are (the ordeal) for a Sûdra."[4]

After stating that these severe ordeals are not to be resorted to where the debt is less than a thousand panas, or the offence is not a great crime against the king, it is said, that the accused, having been placed in the scales by those who understand the art of weighing, utters the following invocation:—

[1] Yâjnavalkya, ii. 6, 7.
[2] Ibid, 22.
[3] Yâjnavalkya, ii. 13—15.
[4] Ibid, 95—98.

"O scales! made by the gods, of old, the abode of truth; therefore do ye, propitious ones, declare the truth and liberate me from suspicion!

"If I be an evil doer, then bear me down, O mother! If I be pure, carry me upwards!"[1]

In ordeal by fire, seven leaves of the sacred aswattha tree are placed in the hands of the accused, who thereupon says:—

"Thou, O fire, dwellest in all created things! O purifier, in testimony of innocence and guilt, do thou in my hand, make known the truth!

"When he (who suffers the ordeal) has thus spoken, let a smooth red hot iron ball, of fifty *palas*' weight, be placed upon both his hands.

"Carrying this, let him slowly walk across seven circles, of sixteen fingers' breadth diameter each, with an interval of the same measure between each."[2]

If the accused escape with unburnt hands, he is pure or innocent.

In the trial by water, the accused is submerged whilst a swift-footed man shoots an arrow, runs after it, and returns. His prayer is—

"By the power of truth, O Varuna, save me."[3]

Ordeal by poison requires that the accused should take a certain weight of aconite, the sringa of the Himalayas,[4] whilst saying—

"Thou, O poison, Brahmâ's son, art ordained for truth and right; free me from the accusation, and be to me, by the power of truth, a draught of immortality."[5]

In the Code of Manu neither scales nor poison are mentioned, and the whole subject of trial by ordeal occupies but two verses. M. Emile Schlagintweit has lately made trial by ordeal or "Got-

[1] Yâjnavalkya, ii. 101, 102.
[2] Ibid, 104—106.
[3] Ibid, 108.
[4] Emile Schlagintweit.
[5] Yâjnavalkya, ii. 110.

tesurtheile," the subject of a lecture, in which he shows that this mode of testing innocence is very old, and by no means peculiar to India. He observes, that in India the oldest form is that of walking through fire; and he gives a hymn from the Atharva-Veda composed for such an occasion. This form of trial he also finds in the Panchavinsa-Brâhmana of the Sâma-Veda, and in the Antigone of Sophocles,[1] proving that it was not unknown to the ancient Greeks.

In vol. xxxv., p. 14, of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Professor G. Bühler (of the Elphinstone College, Bombay), gives a translation of the Vyavahâra-Mayûkha's chapter on ordeals; and from this we learn that some modifications were made in these trials in after years. The opening sentence is: "Here (begin) the ordeals. They are used to decide matters which are left undecided by human evidence."

The kinds of ordeals are not only scales, fire, water, poison, but in addition, rice and hot coins. In describing what persons are fit subjects for the several kinds of trial, some details are added to those given in Yâjnavalkya; as, that children and women should not be immerged in water, nor sick, old, or weak men. "When they are immerged they always die."[2] . . . . . "Nor shall they take into their hands hot iron," &c. . . . . .

Kâtyâyana is quoted as saying—

"Let him (the judge) not give the ordeal by fire to smiths, nor (that by) water to those who (by their profession) have to work in water (as divers, &c.), nor by any means poison to those who know the application

[1] Mr. Plumptre has thus translated the lines referred to :—

"As for proof,
That there was none, and so he 'scaped our ken;
And we were ready in our hands to take
Bars of hot iron, and to walk through fire,
And call the gods to witness none of us
Had done the deed, nor knew who counselled it."

TRAGEDIES OF SOPHOCLES.—E. H. Plumptre, vol. i. p. 160.

[2] Page 17.

of charms; . . . . . and let not a man . . . . . who has a disease of the mouth undergo the ordeal of the rice-grains."[1]

Kâtyâyana is also quoted, as allowing substitutes, in case the person to undergo the ordeal is unable to do so. Rules, regarding the time when the different ordeals should take place, are numerous; and these are followed by rules on the place in which it should take place. Pitâmaha says:—

"The scales must always be made to turn towards the east, immoveable, in a pure place, near to the flag, in the hall (of justice), or in the gateway of the king's (palace), or on a crossing."

When the arrangements are made—

"Then let the judge who is conversant with the religious law, invoke the gods according to the following rule:—turning towards the east, and joining his hands, let him speak: 'Come, come, divine Dharma, approach this ordeal, together with the Lokapâlas (eight protectors of the world), and the crowds of Vasus, Adityas, and Maruts.' But if he has brought Dharma to the scales, he should assign to the subordinate gods their several places."[2]

Pitâmaha also says—

"The king should order (his people) to construct a hall for the scales, which (is) broad, high, resplendent, ... possessing an instrument for (shutting) the doors, ... which contains (jars with) water and the like, which is well furnished."[3]

The wood used for erecting scales should be Khâdira, and free from clefts. If there be no Khâdira, Sinsapa, or Sâla, or iron-wood (arjuna), or Tinisa, or, lastly, red sandal-wood may be used. During the cutting, prayers should be addressed to Soma and to Vanaspati, in muttered tones. The prayer, or mantra, addressed to Vanaspati is Rig-Veda iii. 8, transferring the qualities of the Yûpa to the scales by a Sanskrit formula.[4]

[1] Page 18. [2] Page 21. [3] Page 23. [4] Page 24.

Prayers are indicated appropriate to each trial. And then, in describing the trial by red hot balls, very minute directions are given as to what he may hold in his hands. Pitâmaha (says):

"Let him place in his hands seven pippala leaves, unground rice, flowers, curds, and tie them there with a string."[1]

The rule for the ordeal by water is, Pitâmaha says,—

"A wise (judge) should order to be made a place (purified by the application of cow-dung); then he should devoutly worship arrows, with lamps, and incense, ... and flowers." . . . . .

The ordeal by hot mâsha-grains made of metal is described with much minuteness.[2] An iron, copper, or earthen vessel, must be filled with clarified butter and oil. Place in it, when well-heated, a golden mâsha-grain. "(The accused) should take out the hot mâsha with the thumb and (first) finger. If he does not move the ends of the fingers, or no blister comes, he whose fingers are not hurt is (considered) innocent according to the law."

The ordeal by rice-grains is also described; "but the maxim is, that the ordeal by rice-grains should be allowed in case of theft only, not otherwise."[3]

The Chinese traveller Hiouen Thsang witnessed trials of this description; and, indeed, they seem to have been always in vogue, especially in Thibet, Kumaon, and other northern districts.[4]

But, to return from this digression on ordeals. We observe that the punishments appointed for specified sins are usually much the same in the Code of Yâjnavalkya as in the earlier Code of Manu; but there are differences. In the case of gaming, for

[1] Page 36.
[2] Page 45.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Miss Eden witnessed a trial by rice when marching up to Simla with the Governor-General's camp, in January, 1838. One man out of twenty-two was unable to spit out the rice-powder; but neither Miss Eden nor his fellow-servants believed him guilty. He was a timid person, but trinkets and money had always been safe in his charge.—Up-the-Country, vol. i. p. 104.

instance; in Manu it is absolutely forbidden, but the Code of Yâjnavalkya states—

"If a professed gambler win at play (as much as) one hundred (panas), he shall pay to the keeper of the house one-fifth; others shall pay (the keeper) a tenth of their winnings.

"The latter (in consideration of) having (royal) protection, shall pay the portion stipulated to the monarch, shall make over all stakes won to the winner, shall be true of speech, and forbearing.

"The monarch shall enforce payment of winnings (that is) such as are made in a place kept by a licensed gaming-house-master paying the royal dues, among known players, meeting openly; in other cases, not.

"They who manage suits (arising out of the games), also the witnesses, are to be such persons as those last described.

"If anyone play with false dice, or cheat, the monarch shall have him branded and banished.

"An overseer of the games should be appointed, who may thus become familiar with (the persons of reputed) thieves.

"The like rules apply to wagers at fighting games, whether of men or brutes.."[1]

On the disposal of dead bodies, and regarding the purification of those who have tended their dying relatives, Yâjnavalkya is more explicit than his predecessor:

"A child under two years old shall be buried."[2]

Manu also says, that the corpse of a child under two years of age must be carried out by his kinsmen; and in less matter-of-fact phrase than Yâjnavalkya, he adds:[3] "Having decked him with flowers, let them bury him in pure ground without collecting his bones at a future time." The last sentence means, that the bones of a young child must not be burnt. It seems that an older child may be burned with unconsecrated fire; but that only the twice-born corpse is entitled to holy fire.

[1] Yâjnavalkya, ii. 199—203.
[2] Yâjnavalkya's Gesetzbuch, herausgegeben von A. F. Stenzler, iii. 1.
[3] Manu, v. 68.

After seven or ten days the relatives must walk to the water, turning their faces towards the region of the fathers, or Pitris, repeating the prayer, "May our sins be atoned."

But heretics, thieves, women of bad character, those who drink and those who have killed themselves, are not entitled to water-purification.

After the completion of the purification by water (wasser-spende), the grey-haired elders of the family shall sit upon a smooth, soft grass, and relate to the bereaved family histories of former days. The following verses are given as specimens:—

"He who seeks pith (or marrow) in human life, which is as pithless as the stem of the plantain adalî, and like unto a water-bubble; such an one is foolish.

"If the five-fold compounded body dissolves into the five elements, in consequence of the actions to which it gives rise, who shall complain?

"The earth will pass away, and the ocean, and the gods; how could the foam-like world of mortals not pass away?

"Because the tears shed by relatives distress the dead, one must not weep, but must make offerings for the dead, according to one's means."[1]

Whilst listening to such discourse the family shall return home, the children in advance, carefully chewing leaves of the nimba-tree in the door-way. Fire, water, cow-dung, and mustard-seeds must also be used before those who have touched the corpse can be pronounced pure.

In the same spirit as the discourse given above from the grey-haired elders, are the rules which this Code gives for the attainment of sanctification and immortality. These do not differ materially from those which have already been recorded from the Code of Manu; but there are some expressions showing that morality was gaining importance as a means of acquiring sanctification.[2] Purity of *mind* must be acquired, because, "through purity of mind comes knowledge."

[1] Stenzler, Yâjnavalkya, iii. 8, 9, 10, 11.

[2] Ibid, 62, 65, 66, 67.

"A hermitage cannot cause virtue. Virtue comes from practice. Therefore, what is unpleasant to one's-self, must not be done to others.

"Virtue is truth, not stealing, not hating, shame, purity, intelligence, constancy, moderation, controlled senses, knowledge.

"As from a glowing bar of iron sparks issue, so from spirit issues the spiritual."

The passages which describe the general unfolding of the universe, of which man's spirit is a portion, are in accordance with Sânkhya doctrine, supplemented by the doctrine of the Vedânta.

The Munis ask how it is that the conditions of men in this life are so various. Yâjnavalkya replies, that the action of the spirit determines the state into which a man is born. Some men acquire spirituality after death,—some during life.

Until knowledge is acquired, man must be continually born again. Man must so improve his organs as to be capable of knowledge; but—

"As in a dimmed mirror one cannot see forms reflected, so a spirit, with immature organs, cannot attain knowledge.

"As in a bitter gourd, if it is unripe, sweet juice cannot be found, although contained within it, so is knowledge not found in the spirit, of which the organs are immature."

The argument here rests on the philosophic dogma, that spirit is one, but diffused through all.

"For, as ether contained in various vessels, is one ether; so is the spirit one, and many, as the sun reflected in various vessels of water."[1]

"As the potter, by the help of clay, and a stick, and a wheel, makes a pot, or a carpenter, with straw, wood, and clay, makes a house, or a silkworm, from the fluid of his own body, makes a cocoon; so the spirit itself causes its various births.

"As an actor paints his body with colours, and assumes various forms; so the spirit assumes the body which is caused by its deeds.

[1] Stenzler, Yâjnavalkya, iii. 141, 142, 144.

The highest condition is obtained through devotion, and devotion is attained by "remembrance of true existence, by attachment to truth, by giving up action, and the nearness of the good."

"He, whose spirit on the extinction of his body holds fast in reference to the Lord, and whose conviction remains throughout unshaken, attains to the remembrance of his previous births."[1]

Amongst other ways of expressing that the spirit of man varies in quantity and quality, it is said that spirit dwells in the heart as a lamp which has innumerable rays,—white, black, variegated, blue, brown, yellow, red. One of these rays breaks through the sheath of the sun, and stretches over the world of Brahma; through this ray the soul attains its highest goal. Other rays make the body shine, but do not secure it from future births.

As the quantity and quality of spirit possessed in this life varies, so also the conditions of men after death vary. There are eighty-eight thousand Munis, it is said, who inhabit heaven for a time, but who will be born again as good seed in the earth to promote the right. But other Munis there are, living "between the seven Rishis and the path of the Elephant," who are emancipated from all work. With them originated the Vedas, Purânas, ... Sûtras, and, says the text, "Commentaries."[2]

The twice-born who acquire knowledge of the Veda, and return to the forest, attain truth, and are endowed with the highest belief. Such men will dwell in Brahma's world, and return no more to this world. But men who win heaven merely by offerings and penance, come to smoke, ... wind and rain, ... and return again to this world. Men who do not know the double way, which is apparently ritual and knowledge, will be born again as snakes, grasshoppers, insects or worms.

The man who has entirely given up his body to devotion is thus described:—

[1] Stenzler, Yâjnavalkya, iii. 146, 162, 160, 161. [2] Ibid, 166 ff, 186 ff.

"The extended foot resting on the leg, the outstretched right hand lying on the left, the face a little raised, but leaning on the breast;

"The eyes closed,—resting quietly, the teeth parted, the tongue held immoveably on the gums, countenance veiled and imperturbable;

"The senses held in check, on a seat neither too high nor too low, let him practise stoppage of breath twice or thrice.

"Then let him think on the Lord, which abides in his heart like a lamp, and, resting his spirit firmly on that Lord, let him practise collectedness of mind intelligently."[1]

This description of a Muni so much resembles the Buddhist statues of their Buddha, Sâkya-Muni, that the written picture and the sculptured image must undoubtedly be derived from the same ideal.

[1] Stenzler, Yâjnavalkya, iii. 191—194; 197—199.

CHAPTER XVII.

LAW SCHOOLS AND DIGESTS.

Sanskrit law books now used.—Mitâksharâ.—Dâyabhâga.—Colebrooke's translations and preface.—Constitution of Hindu family—divided or undivided.—Religious importance attached to sons.—Instances in Sanskrit literature.—Women wholly dependent on men.—Claims on property given.—Rights of widows.

The Codes of Manu, Yâjnavalkya, Parâsara, and other Rishis, are still venerated by the natives of India as works of inspiration; and on *smriti* alone, or works believed in as Holy Writ, is Hindu legislation based. But customs change, and new events require new interpretations of old decrees. Thus, gradually, successive commentaries, made to suit successive exigencies, become gathered into digests. Such works the Hindus have found indispensable; and although they do not essentially supersede the older codes, in which they originate, they are practically the only works in daily use.

The most prolific source of litigation in India is the law of inheritance, including the rights of sons by adoption, and the rights of women.

First in importance amongst Sanskrit works treating on this

subject, is the Mitâksharâ,—a treatise which is acknowledged to be an ultimate authority nearly all over India, whether by Hindus or by the British administrators of justice. The special chapter which treats on the law of inheritance was translated by Colebrooke, together with a commentary by Vijnâneswara. This learned pandit assumes a somewhat important position, for he takes each verse of Yâjnavalkya and gives the successive opinions which eminent men have pronounced upon it. These opinions he afterwards harmonizes, and concludes with decisions of his own. Belonging to what may be called the same school as the Mitâksharâ, are some other works in constant use, as the Smriti-Chandrikâ and the Chintâmani, the authors of which agree, Mr. Colebrooke observes, in "deferring generally to the authority of the Mitâksharâ, in frequently appealing to its text, and in rarely and at the same time modestly dissenting from its authority."

But it is not only the Mitâksharâ and its allies, which those who would justly administer the law in India have to master. The Dâyabhâga, and a treatise on Inheritance by Jîmûtavâhana, is the authority by which Lower Bengal is guided; and with this work, also, British rulers are required to be familiar. Perceiving the great perplexities which Hindu laws and customs on inheritance occasioned, Mr. Colebrooke published translations from the Mitâksharâ and the Dâyabhâga so long ago as the year 1810.[1] In a most valuable Preface, Mr. Colebrooke observes, that "In proportion as the law of succession is arbitrary and irreducible to fixed principles, it is complex and intricate in its provisions;" and "requires, on the part of those entrusted with the administration of justice, a previous preparation by study;

[1] "Two Treatises, on the Hindu Law of Inheritance." Calcutta, 1810. These translations having become extremely scarce, a new edition, with valuable notes, was published at Madras in 1865, by the eminent jurist, Mr. Whitley Stokes. This gentleman has also republished the Vyavahâra-Mayûkha, translated by H. Borrodaile; the Dâyakramasangraha, translated by P. M. Wynch; and the Dattaka-Mîmânsâ and Dattaka-Chandrikâ, translated by J. C. C. Sutherland.

for its rules and maxims cannot be rightly understood, when only hastily consulted as occasions arise. Those occasions are of daily and hourly occurrence; and, on this account, that branch of law should be carefully and diligently studied." He then goes on to say, that in Hindu jurisprudence this is the branch of law "which specially and almost exclusively merits the attention of those who are qualifying themselves for the line of service, in which it will become their duty to administer justice to our Hindu subjects, according to their own laws."[1]

Assistance in these difficult questions may also be derived from "Hindu Law,"[2] by Sir Thomas Strange, a most genial, pleasing work, which has, however, this disadvantage, that the author, being unacquainted with the Sanskrit language and literature, could not sufficiently connect Hindu law with the peculiarities of Hindu religious belief.

"Principles of Hindu and Mahommedan Law," by Sir William Hay Macnaghten, may be mentioned as yet more useful. This little book was reprinted in 1860, edited by the late Professor Wilson. In the Introduction the Professor says: "The particulars are mostly derived from Mr. Morley's very excellent publication, on the past history and present state of the administration of justice in British India."[3] And to Mr. Morley he refers for fuller details.

These works do not, however, supersede the admirable Preface which Mr. Colebrooke appended to his "Two Treatises;" and, for our purpose, no one equals Mr. Colebrooke. He was fifty years in India, was intimate with the Sanskrit language and with Sanskrit literature, and consequently knew from what religious feeling, or ancient custom, laws now in force had originally sprung. And being, moreover, a calm, just, painstaking man, his interpretations are accepted, not only by European scholars, but by learned and well-principled natives of India.

[1] Preface, ii. [2] London, 1830. [3] London, 8vo., 1858.

We will now touch upon some of the points most frequently in dispute, and endeavour to show how they are viewed in ancient codes and later digests. And here we must begin by recognising the peculiar constitution of a Hindu family. Property was originally held in common. The normal idea of family in India is, that a father holds no property as peculiarly his own, but acts as a steward of the common property, until he gives up family life, retires "into the forest," or dies; and then the son who performs his obsequies takes his place, inheriting the property as a trust, to be administered for the good of the united family. But although this "co-parceny" is the normal condition, a family may agree to divide.

"After the death of the father and the mother, the brothers, being assembled, may divide among themselves the paternal (and maternal) estate; but they have no power over it while their parents live (unless the father choose to distribute it).

"The eldest brother may take entire possession of the patrimony, and the others may live under him, as (they lived) under their father, (unless they choose to be separated)."[1]

And Manu points out, that if they separate, "religious duties are multiplied in separate houses."[2]

The same view is taken in the following passage from the Smriti-Chandrikâ:—

"For Vyâsa has said thus: The living together of brothers is ordained while their 'parents are alive.' But even after (the death of the father) brothers may live together mutually and increase their wealth; for Sankha and Likhita have said: "Willingly let them live together, united; they will obtain increase.' This means, because they have no separate expenditure. But the circumstance that, upon partition, they will obtain an increase of religious merit, has been declared by Gautama, who says: 'Upon partition, there is an increase of religious duty.' In regard to the question, how this is the case, Nârada has declared: 'If

[1] Manu, ix. 104, 105. [2] Ibid, 111.

brothers are undivided, their religious duty continues to be single (*i.e.* undiminished); but upon division, their religious duty becomes individually separate.' That is the duty which arises from the honour shown to the manes of the ancestors, the gods, and the Brâhmans. And in the same manner, also, Vrihaspati has said: 'Of those who live by making one cooking (*i.e.* by partaking of the same food or household), the worship of the manes of the ancestors, the gods, and the Brâhmans, is single; of those who are divided, that (worship) is separate, house for house (*i.e.* in each family')."[1]

But, whether a family separate or remain undivided, the Mitâksharâ declares that immovable property must be equally divided amongst the co-parceners.

"Therefore it is a settled point, that the property in the paternal and ancestral estate is by birth, although the father have independent power in the disposal of effects other than immovables, for indispensable acts of duty, and for purposes described by texts of law; as gifts through affection, support of the family, relief from distress, and so forth; but he is subject to the control of his sons, and the rest, in regard to the immovable estate, whether acquired by himself, or inherited from his father or other predecessor, since it is ordained: 'Though immovables or bipeds have been acquired by a man himself, a gift or sale of them should not be made without convening all the sons. They who are born, and they who are yet unbegotten, and they who are still in the womb, require the means of support. No gift or sale should therefore be made.'"[2]

That a family must be considered "undivided," unless it can prove that it has divided, seems to be undoubted; but there is some difference of opinion as to the proportion to be claimed by the several sons on occasion of division. Manu says:—

"Let the eldest have a double share, and the next-born a share and a half. The younger sons must have each a share."[3]

[1] Strange, Hindu Law, i. 222; and *ibid*, Appendix, i. 20. *See* also translation of Smriti-Chandrikâ, p. 16.

[2] Page 256 f.

[3] Manu, ix. 117.

Whereas in Yâjnavalkya we read :—

"After decease of the parents, let the sons make equal division of the property and of the debts."[1]

These, and some other varying opinions, are stated in the Mitâksharâ; and the author then asks, how it is that sons are required to "divide only equal shares?" This question he answers thus: "True, this unequal partition is found in the sacred ordinances; but it must not be practised, because it is abhorred by the world." And the maxim is quoted: "Practise not that which is legal, but is abhorred by the world; it secures not celestial bliss."[2]

We are dwelling long upon the point, that a member of an undivided family in India cannot do what he likes with his own, because it is difficult for the natives of our country to believe in such a system. A Briton, and more especially an Englishman, relies upon himself for his own maintenance, and expects his brothers and sisters, and even his father and mother, to do the same: whereas "Hindus are a patriarchal people, many families often living together as one; connected in blood and united in interests; with various relative dependants, to be provided for out of the aggregate funds; but subject always to separation, as well as to the exclusion of any one or more from participation in the inheritance, for causes to be hereafter enumerated."[3]

And therefore, when the inheritance descends, this union of interests "constitutes *co-parcenary*, to which survivorship attaches, differing in this particular from co-parcenary with us, and resembling rather joint-tenancy; so that, on the death of a Hindu parcener, the succession to his rights, with the exception of property separately acquired by him, rests in the other remaining members,—his sons, if he have any, representing him as to his

[1] Yâjn. (translated by Röer and Montriou), ii. 117, and *note* by Mr. Montriou.

[2] Colebrooke, Two Treatises. Calcutta edition, p. 264.

[3] Hindu Law, by Sir T. Strange, vol. i. p. 120.

undivided rights, while the females of his family continue to depend on the aggregate fund, till a *partition* takes place, which may never happen."

Laws for the descent of property being originally quite independent of the holder of that property, wills and testaments are wholly unknown to Hindu law; and "it follows, for the sake of consistency," says Sir William Macnaghten, "that they must be wholly inoperative, and that their provisions must be set aside where they are at variance with the law; otherwise a person would be competent to make a disposition to take effect after his death, to which he could not have given effect during his lifetime."[1] Sir Thomas Strange alludes to the testamentary power having been "engrafted" "by the king's courts on the native law of succession, notwithstanding the fact conceded, that a *will is a mode of disposing of property unknown to the Hindu law*."[2] It is quite clear, that a man is not at liberty to dispose of his property according to his own good judgment or caprice; and it is also quite clear, that the principles on which the laws of inheritance are based must not be confounded with those which regulate the European laws of succession.

A man's heirs are those who present the *Srâddha* at his funeral; and a *sapinda*, or relative, whose offerings are on that occasion most acceptable, is the relative first entitled to inherit. Therefore, because offerings from sons are more effectual than offerings from other persons, sons are first in order of succession. Every student who takes up the subject of Hindu property, is struck by its connection with the spiritual welfare of the dead. Sir Thomas Strange remarks, that his chapter on inheritance cannot be properly understood unless we remember the belief of the Hindu, that his future beatitude depends "upon the performance of his obsequies and the payment of his [spiritual] debts by a son."[3] And he refers to Sir W. Jones who, in a

[1] Principles of Hindu and Mohammedan Law, p. 4.

[2] Hindu Law, vol. i. pp. 121, 122.

[3] Ibid, p. 73 and p. 127.

note to the Digest, calls it "the *key* to the whole Indian law of inheritance;" "resting," Sir T. Strange continues, "as with us, upon services to be performed by the heir;—not, however, upon feudal ones, to be rendered to a superior, but, like *frankalmoigne* with us, upon spiritual ones, to be conferred on the deceased, in extricating his spirit from its otherwise hopeless state by a due discharge of his funeral rites."[1]

To have a son, was, in fact, to a Hindu, a duty no less binding than sacrifice to the gods or the acquisition of sacred knowledge. It was a link in that chain by which a mortal secured immortality. Manu declares it to be the imperative duty of middle life, and derives the very name by which a son is designated from the office he fulfils in performing his father's *srâddha.*

"Since the son delivers (*trâyate*) his father from the hell, called *put*, he was therefore called *puttra* by Brahmâ himself."

This is interesting, as a sign of the strong hold which the idea early obtained in India, but is worthless as an etymology. So far from *puttra,* son, being derived from *put,* hell, I am assured that puttra is one of the oldest words in the Sanskrit language: whereas the idea of a hell, or of a word *put,* whereby to signify it, is not to be found in the most ancient writings of India.

"Innumerable are the passages," says Sir T. Strange, "that have been collected from Hindu scripture, and heroic history, by writers on the law of the subject in question, in which benefits derived from the father, or other ancestor, through the son, grandson, or great grandson, are stated as reasons for the preferable right of the lineal male heir, to a certain extent, before any other claimant."[2]

This belief is a key also to many peculiarities in Hindu real or legendary history. It accounts for the extreme anxiety with which Hindus desired to have sons, of which we have in the present volume many instances. In the Râmâyana, the King

[1] Strange, Hindu Law, vol. i. p. 127. [2] Ibid, pp. 127, 128.

of Ayodhyâ has no son: he performs sacrifice, and gains four sons. In the Mahâbhârata, the King of Hastinâpura has no son: he performs sacrifice, and is blessed with a son and daughter. In the Aitareya-Brâhmana, King Harischandra has no son: in desperation, he promises that if he obtain a son he will offer him in sacrifice to Vishnu. But remembering, apparently, that in that case he would again be without a son, an arrangement is made for purchasing the son of a forest-Brâhman, and having him sacrificed instead.[1]

Yet more striking is a story told in the Aitareya-Brâhmana, and again in the Mahâbhârata, where a pious and excellent man is represented as having omitted this imperative duty of having a son. He had missed entirely the second prescribed period of life, which was marriage, and after the first period spent with his tutor, had entered at once upon the third, and gone into the woods as a devotee. Wandering about, absorbed in contemplation, he was amazed to find a pit, above which men were hanging, suspended by a blade of grass, at which a rat was gnawing. He inquired their history, and discovered to his consternation that they were his own ancestors, compelled to hang thus, and fall at last, unless he married and had a son, who should release them.

Now it so happens that, although (as a rule) every man in India marries, the misfortune of having no son is by no means uncommon in that country; and, consequently, it is considered not merely lawful, but necessary, that where sons by marriage have failed, a man must adopt sons; and rules are therefore given in codes by which such adoption should be made. Some difference is expressed in different books as to the relative merits of one or another mode of adopting; but no authorised law-book disputes the fact, that a son adopted (according to law) has the same rights as if he were a son by marriage.

This point has, unfortunately, been disputed in reference to

[1] *See* p. 95 ff.

Mysore. Learned members of the Council in London, and also in Calcutta,—men long acquainted with Hindu law and Hindu custom,—strenuously refused to view the subject from the Hindu point of view. They fully acknowledged the force of the law as applied to domestic rights, but absolutely rejected it as applied to political succession; and only yielded at last to a more sympathising policy with a protesting reluctance.

"He, whom his father, or mother (with her husband's assent) gives to another as his son, provided that the donee have no issue, if the boy be of the same class and affectionately disposed, is considered as a son given (the gift being conferred by pouring water).

"He is considered as a son made (or adopted) whom a man takes as his own son, the boy being equal in class, endued with filial virtues, acquainted with (the) merit (of performing obsequies to his adopter), and with (the) sin (of omitting them)."

An orphan is entitled to give himself; as—

"He, who has lost his parents, or been abandoned (by them) without just cause, and offers himself to a man (as his son), is called a son self-given."

After all the permitted modes of acquiring sons have been enumerated, the Code says:—

"These eleven sons (the son of the wife and the rest) are allowed by wise legislators to be substitutes (in order) for sons of the body, for the sake of preventing a failure of obsequies."[1]

Sons not born in wedlock, or sons purchased, are discountenanced; and Manu remarks, that

"Such advantage, as a man would gain, who should attempt to pass deep water in a boat made of woven reeds, that father obtains, who passes the gloom of death, leaving only contemptible sons."[2]

The possibility of changes in Hindu laws is admitted by Sir

[1] Manu, ix. 168, 169, 177, 180. [2] Ibid, 161.

W. Jones, who, in the general note at the end of his translation of the Code of Manu, says:—"The learned Hindus are unanimously of opinion, that many laws enacted by Manu, their oldest reputed legislator, were confined to the three first ages of the world, and have no force in the present age, in which a few of them are certainly obsolete." . . . . He quotes the opinions of certain law-givers; as Nârada, who states, that "the slaughter of cattle in the entertainment of a guest, the repast on flesh-meat at funeral obsequies, and the order of a hermit (are forbidden or obsolete in the fourth age)." And the Aditya-Purâna, which states, that "what was a duty in the first age must not (in all cases) be done in the fourth."[1] He then instances rules for students, and marriages with kinsfolk, and "the sacrifice of a bull, or of a man, or of a horse; and that all spirituous liquor must in the Kali age be avoided by twice-born men." A better known authority, also here quoted by Sir W. Jones, is the Smriti-Chandrikâ,[2] which agrees with the preceding works, that in the present (or Kali) age, "the slaughter of animals in honour of guests or ancestors, the acceptance of spirituous liquor, and, above all, ... the filiation of any but a son legally-begotten or given in adoption (by his parents)," are (parts of ancient law) abrogated by wise legislators.

But, although some changes were adopted, we find no change attempted in the main principles of Hindu law. Sacrifice must be continued, although the slaughter of animals was discountenanced; adoption, under prescribed circumstances, is still imperative, although some of the modes once permitted are forbidden. After touching on the twelve kinds of sons enumerated by Manu, Sir Thomas Strange thus concludes:—"And now, these two,—the son by birth emphatically so called (*aurasa*), and the son by adoption (*dattaka*), meaning always the son *given*,—are, generally speaking, the only subsisting ones allowed

[1] General note at close of Code.

[2] *Ante*, p. 317.

to be capable of answering the purpose of sons,—the rest, and all concerning them, being parts of ancient law, understood to have been abrogated, as the cases arose." . . . . .

Sir Thomas Strange[1] admits, however, "that in some of the northern provinces, forms of adoption, other than that of the *dattaka*, at this day prevail;" and "that, failing a son, a Hindu's obsequies may be performed by his widow; or, in default of her, by a whole brother, ... but according to the conception belonging to the subject, not with the same benefit as by a son. That a son, therefore, of some description, is with him in a spiritual sense next to indispensable, is abundantly certain."

The observation, that a Hindu's obsequies may be performed by his widow, introduces us to a third peculiarity in the customs and laws of India, giving rise to fully as much litigation as those already discussed. We allude to the claims of widows on the property of their late husbands. So long as a family remains undivided, a widow is a portion of that family, and must be provided for with the rest. The older theory of Hindu family is, in fact, that the men of a family must maintain the women; and therefore, when a man dies, his widow does not inherit property, but the son inherits not only the property, but the charge of maintaining the widow. Manu gives several verses, showing that women must in all things depend upon men.[2]

"Day and night must women be held by their protectors in a state of dependence.

"Their fathers protect them in childhood, their husbands . . . . . in youth, their sons . . . . . in age.

"A woman is never fit for independence."

Manu repeats this sentiment in Chapter V.; as—

"By a girl, or by a young woman, or by a woman advanced in years,

[1] Sir T. Strange, Hindu Law, vol. i. pp. 75, 76. [2] Manu, ix. 2, 3.

nothing must be done, even in her own dwelling place, according to her mere pleasure.

"In childhood, must a female be dependent on her father; in youth, on her husband; her lord being dead, on her sons.

" . . . . . A woman must never seek independence."[1]

We enter the more fully into these points, because the ancient Hindus' ideas of woman were very unlike those of Europeans. A woman could do nothing for herself; but then, her husband secured her happiness on earth, and happiness after death.

So, if women are not honoured, "religious acts become fruitless;" and if a neglected woman should utter an imprecation, "the house, with all that belongs to it, will utterly perish, as if destroyed by a sacrifice for the death of an enemy."[2]

With the ancient Hindu, the dependence of woman was the necessary consequence of her having "no evidence of law, and no knowledge of expiatory texts." Woman was not recognised as a distinct or separate existence, but as the complementary part of a man. Therefore,—

"No sacrifice is allowed to women, apart from their husbands; no religious rites, no fasting. As far only as a wife honours her lord, so far she is exalted to heaven."[3]

Initiatory ceremonies "must be duly performed for women at the same age and in the same order" as for boys, ... "but without any texts from the Veda;" "the nuptial ceremony" being "considered as the complete institution of women."[4]

It being thus recognised, that the helplessness of women was a divine ordinance, it was but natural that the charge of widows should devolve upon the undivided family estate. But as the complications of society increased, and "division" was not unusually practised, the widow's position became at times precarious; for, if she had no sons, the property was the heritage

[1] Manu, v. 147, 148.
[2] Ibid, iii. 55—58.
[3] Manu, v. 155.
[4] Ibid, ii. 66, 67.

of more distant relatives, priests, or even the State,—but always with the condition that the funeral cake be offered.[1] It seemed, therefore, suitable and fitting that codes should take into consideration "widows' claims," immediately after stating the rules according to which family property might be divided. At first, her claims seem not to have been admitted. Manu says:—

"Not brothers, nor parents, but sons . . . . . are heirs to the deceased; but of him who leaves no son, ... the father shall take share," &c. . . . . .

And it is only the commentator, Kullûka, who inserts, after "no son,"—"nor a wife nor a daughter."[2] And again, at verse 217, when Manu says, "of a son dying childless," the mother shall take the estate, the commentator inserts, before the word "mother,"—"and leaving no widow." The Code of Yâjnavalkya, however, boldly admits the title of the widow; for he says:

"If a man depart this life without male issue, his wife, his daughters, his parents, his brothers, ... succeed to the inheritance."[3]

The two celebrated Treatises already mentioned, as translated by Colebrooke, alike give the opinion, that under certain circumstances a widow can inherit her late husband's wealth. The Mitâksharâ school, however, makes the proviso, that the late husband must have been one of a "divided" family; because, as one of these writers pithily expresses it—

"When the husband dies without partition with his co-heirs, he has no share at all. What, then, could his wife receive?"

The Dâyabhâga, on the other hand, allows the first wife of equal rank and legally married to inherit, whether her late husband were or were not "divided" from his co-heirs. But all authorities agree that it is only a wife, married according to one of the legally-recognised modes,—one called *patnî*,—who can

[1] Manu, ix. 188. [2] Ibid, 185. [3] Yâjnavalkya, ii. 135, 136.

inherit; and that she can only do so when there are no sons. After quoting a text from Yâjnavalkya, stating that a wife is heir to a man who dies leaving no male issue, the Mitâksharâ says: "Wife" (patnî) signifies a woman espoused in lawful wedlock, conformably with the etymology of the term, as implying a communion with religious rites. In a note, we are referred to a rule of the grammarian Pânini, 4, 1, 35.

"The author of the *Subodhinî* remarks" (continues the note), "that the meaning of the grammatical rule cited from Pânini is this: patnî, "wife," anomalously derived from pati, "husband," is employed when connexion with religious rites is indicated; for they are accomplished by her means, and the consequence accrues to him. The purport is, that a woman lawfully wedded, and no other, accomplishes religious ceremonies; and therefore, one espoused in lawful marriage is exclusively called a wife (patnî)."[1]

We will quote also from the Smriti-Chandrikâ, of which Mr. Colebrooke speaks thus: "This excellent treatise on judicature is of great and almost paramount authority, as I am informed, in the countries occupied by the Hindu nations of Drâvida, Tailanga, and Karnâta—inhabiting the greatest part of the peninsula or Dekhan."[2]

"Just as secondary (that is, adopted) sons, on account of the visible and spiritual benefits (which they confer) on the manes of the deceased, have precedence before the father and other (heirs), and for this reason have a nearer claim compared to theirs: in the same manner also the wife (patnî), considering (what is taught) by the Veda, the law codes, and other (authoritative works), in regard to the visible and spiritual benefit which she confers (on the manes of her husband), has a nearer claim (to inherit) compared to that of the father and the other (heirs)."[3]

Vrihaspati is then quoted, as pronouncing that the wife claims

[1] Colebrooke, Two Treatises. Mitâksharâ ch. ii. sec. i., 2, 3, 5, and *note*.
[2] Two Treatises. Preface, iv.
[3] Translation, by Professor Goldstücker, in his Remarks on the Judgment of the Privy Council in the Sivaganga case, 1864. Appendix, p. 32.

because she has "the property of conferring visible and spiritual benefits (on the manes of the deceased); and for no other consideration;" and also as saying, that "a wife (patnî) is declared by the wise to be half the body (of her husband)."[1]

It is not necessary to follow the Smriti-Chandrikâ through the whole argument; the following passages may suffice:—the wife "is half of his self, for the sake of sacrifice." "Of him, whose wife drinks intoxicating liquor, half the body falls (to hell)." The wife (patnî) "is entitled to the joint-performance of religious rites." . . . . . A "bought wife" . . . . . "has no connection with the characteristics of a patnî." "She has no right to perform sacrificial acts in honour to the gods, or the manes of ancestors."

The Mitâksharâ uses precisely the same line of argument, and so also does the Dâyabhâga. The author of the Dâyabhâga agrees, in fact, entirely with the Mitâksharâ, in assigning the wife's competence to confer spiritual benefits as the test of her right to inherit, as may be seen by the following quotations:—

> "Accordingly (since the right of succession to property is founded on competence for oblations at obsequies), ... not brothers nor parents, but sons, are heirs.
>
> "But, on failure of heirs down to the son's grandson, the wife being (only) inferior in pretensions to sons and the rest, because she performs acts spiritually beneficial to her husband from the date of her widowhood (and not like them from the moment of their birth), succeeds to the estate in their default."[2]

Vyâsa is then quoted, as desiring that a virtuous woman, after the death of her husband, live strictly a life of continence, and "daily, after the preparation of the bath, present water from the joined palms of her hands to the manes of her husband." With the property, she inherits the duties of alms-giving; and Vishnu

[1] *See* also Smriti-Chandrikâ. Madras, 1867. Translated by Kristnaswamy Iyer, p. 149.

[2] Colebrooke's Two Treatises, Dâyabhâga, p. 174.

is next referred to as desiring the widow "to give alms to the chief of the venerable for increase of holiness, and keep the various fasts which are commanded by sacred ordinances. A woman, who is assiduous in the performance of duties, conveys her husband, though abiding in another world, and herself to a region of bliss."

But although the wife could, under certain circumstances, inherit, she had only a life-interest in the property. "She is not entitled to make a gift, mortgage, or sale of it." She is, moreover, required to "abide" with her "venerable protector;" so abiding, she is to "enjoy with moderation the property until her death. After her, let the heirs take it."[1]

Amongst the duties which she inherits with her wealth, she must "give to the paternal uncles and other relatives of her husband presents in proportion to the wealth, at her husband's funeral rites." To these and others of her husband's family she must give presents, but "not to the family of her own father."[2]

"Since by these and other passages it is declared that the wife rescues her husband from hell; and since a woman, doing improper acts through indigence, causes her husband to fall (to a region of horror); . . . . therefore, the wealth devolving on her is for the benefit of the former owner; and the wife's succession is, consequently, proper."

It is evident, therefore, that a wife can inherit, when she has no son of any description; but it is also quite clear, whether by the law of Mithilâ (of the Mitâksharâ), or by the law of Lower Bengal the Dâyabhâga, that her right to inherit is based upon her competence to make offerings to the manes of her late husband.

Yet another question remains to be considered, namely: whether a woman can hold personal or peculiar property; and on this subject we find in Manu the following verses:—

"What was given before the nuptial fire, what was given on the bridal

[1] Colebrooke, Two Treatises, p. 180. Dâyabhâga, xi., section i. 56.

[2] Colebrooke, Two Treatises, p. 183.

procession, what was given in token of love, and what was received from a brother, a mother, or a father,—are considered as the six-fold (separate) property of a married woman.

"What she received after marriage from the family of her husband, and what her affectionate lord may have given her,—shall be inherited, even if she die in his lifetime, by her children."[1]

This, however, differs, according to the kind of marriage by which the wife had been united to her husband. It is said, moreover, that

"A woman should never make a hoard from the goods of her kindred, (which are) common to (her and) many." . . . . .

And, on the other hand, if the heirs of a man divide amongst themselves the ornamental apparel of the widow, they fall deep into sin.

The wife's separate property is called *strîdhana,* "woman's property;" from *strî,* "woman," and *dhana,* "wealth."[2] Practically, this property is wife's or widow's property, because a single woman is almost unknown in India. It must have been "the gift, not of a stranger, but of a husband, or some one or other of the owner's near relatives. If derived from a stranger, or earned by herself, according to the most general understanding, ... it rests in the husband."

For some exigencies, the husband is entitled to make use of his wife's strîdhana; but "it would seem that the right is personal in the husband," since, in the case of a writ of execution for a debt, ... "the wife's strîdhana" cannot be seized.[3]

But we do not attempt details. These passages are far from pretending to teach law on any point: they merely aim at showing the character of the Hindu law, and at calling attention to particulars which originate in religious beliefs and usages dearer to a high-caste Hindu than life itself.

[1] Manu, ix. 194, 195, 199, 200. [2] Strange, vol. i. p. 26. [3] Ibid, p. 27.

"It would be difficult," said an eminent jurist, no longer living, "to overrate the importance of a due administration of the laws and customs by which the descent of property in India is regulated.

"The complexity of these laws and customs, and their total difference from all European systems of descent, have given rise to distressing diversities of opinion amongst those who, with more or less preparation, have had imposed upon them the duty of deciding upon various controversies which from time to time have arisen.

"Hindu property," he observes, "may be regarded as falling under two grand divisions: property held by an undivided family, and that held by a divided family. These two species of property follow distinct lines of descent. It will, therefore, be proper to ascertain the characteristics of an undivided family. Secondly; what are the characteristics of a divided family? Thirdly; what are the rules which govern the descent of undivided property? Fourthly; what are the rules by which the descent of divided property is regulated?" He then speaks of the principle of creating "heirs by adoption, the resistance to which by the British authorities in India has been the cause of such wide-spread misery and bloodshed;" a custom which does not apparently offer "greater difficulty than an English settlement or will, containing remote gifts in remainder, to successive classes of strangers in blood."

In conclusion, he observes, that "as the descent of property in India is regulated with reference to benefits to be conferred upon the souls of deceased ancestors; so, the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts of England over matters testamentary, and in cases of intestary, is derived entirely from the anxiety felt in Catholic times,—that the repose of the souls of the departed should be secured by a proper disposition of personal estate, under the direction of the bishop of the diocese and his subordinates, in payment of debts, and performance of masses."

CHAPTER XVIII.

MEDICINE.

Sanatory plants in Rig-Veda.—The Aswins physicians.—Medical men in Mahâbhârata.—Sanskrit writers on medicines :—Atriya ; Charaka ; Susruta. Their works valued by the Kalifs of Bagdad.

Although the science of medicine cannot be traced to the earliest periods of Sanskrit literature, we infer the existence of medical practice from various passages in Vedic poetry. For instance : several hymns celebrate the hygienic properties of water, air, and vegetables :—

> " I invoke the divine waters in which our cattle drink :
> Ambrosia is in the waters ; in the waters are medicinal herbs."

Soma is supposed to preside over medicinal herbs, and therefore the Rishi Medâthiti continues his hymn, as :—

" Soma has declared to me, ' all medicaments as well as Agni. the benefactor of the universe, are in the waters ;' the waters contain all healing herbs.

" Waters bring to perfection all disease,—dispelling medicaments for (the good of) my body, that I may long behold the sun.

" Waters take away whatever sin has been (found) in me, whether I have (knowingly) done wrong or have pronounced imprecations (against holy men), or (have spoken) untruth.

"I have this day entered into the waters: we have mingled with their essence."[1]

In another hymn, wholly addressed to Soma, we read:—

"Thou, Soma, fond of praise, the lord of plants, art life to us."

And again at verses 12 and 17:

"Be unto us, Soma, the bestower of wealth, the remover of disease. Exulting Soma! increase with all twining, plants."[2]

At this period, "the Aswins" are called "physicians of the gods." In our first chapter will be found a description of the Aswins. They are the twin-children of the sun, born at the rising of that luminary. Their character is lively, humorous, and beneficent. Many of the deeds they perform are marvellous, but others, of which we will now make mention, are of the more ordinary of medical practice. In the following hymns, by the Rishi Kakshîvat, we find them curing blindness and deafness.

The Rishi Kakshîvat says:—

"Hear the song of the stumbling (blind man), for verily, Aswins, I glorify you, recovering my eyes (through you) who are protectors of good works."[3]

The Aswins also gave sight to Kanwa, "unable to see his way," and hearing to the son of Nrishada."[4] Kanwa is again mentioned in the hymn which follows, where the Rishi says:

"You (gave relief) to the imprisoned Atri, (quenching the) scorching heat. . . . . . Solicitous of worthy praise, you gave sight to Kanwa, blinded (by darkness).[5]

In another hymn the same Rishi Kakshîvat says:

"Thus, Aswins, have I declared your exploits; may I become the

[1] Wilson's trans., vol. i. p. 57; Rig-Veda, i. 22.
[2] Ibid, p. 234; i. 91.
[3] Ibid, p. 324; i. 120.
[4] Wilson's trans., vol. i. p. 315; Rig-Veda, i. 117.
[5] Ibid, p. 320; i. 118.

master (of this place), having abundant cattle and a numerous progeny, and retaining my sight, and enjoying a long life: may I enter into old age, as (a master enters) his house."[1]

And in concluding his fine hymns to the Aswins, this Rishi expresses moral benefit from his intercourse with them.

"Now am I disdainful of sleep, and of the rich man who benefits not others, for both (the morning sleep and the selfish rich man) quickly perish."[2]

On another occasion, we find Rudra invoked as the bestower of health.[3]

"Father of the Maruts, may thy felicity extend to us; exclude us not from the sight of the sun. . . . . .

"Nursed by the sanatory vegetables which are bestowed by thee, may I live a hundred winters: extirpate my enemies, my exceeding sin, and my manifold infirmities.

"Thou, Rudra, art the chiefest of beings in glory. . . . . .

"Let us not provoke thee, Rudra, to wrath, by our (imperfect) adorations; . . . . . invigorate our sons by thy medicinal plants, for I hear that thou art a chief physician among physicians."

And in subsequent verses Rudra is again solicited to give the gift of "healing herbs," and those medicaments which "are the alleviation (of disease) and defence against danger."

Evidence of the practice of medicine in the Rig-Veda period is also afforded by a hymn, translated by Dr. Muir, where we read:

1. "Different men have various occupations and designs. The carpenter seeks something that is broken, the doctor a patient, the priest some one who will offer libations. . . . . .

2. "With dried up sticks, with birds' feathers, with metals, the artizan continually seeks after a man with plenty of gold.

[1] Wilson's trans., vol. i. p. 313; Rig-Veda, i. 116.

[2] Ibid, p. 325; i. 120.

[3] Hymn, by Gritsamada. Wilson's trans., vol. i. pp. 290, 292; Rig-Veda, i. 33.

3. "I am a poet, my father is a doctor, and my mother a grinder of corn. With our different views, seeking to get gain, we run after (our respective objects). . . . . .

4. "The draught-horse seeks an easy-going carriage; . . . . . frogs a pond."[1]

At a later period the Code of Manu mentions "physicians," but classes them with men "who worship images for gain," with "sellers of meat," and with such as "live by low traffic."[2] It is even declared that "food given to a seller of the moonplant, or to a physician," *corrupts*. But whilst this code thus treats practitioners with little respect, it shows knowledge of and value for "medical substances;" for a king is advised to wear gems which repel poison, *and* to take medicines which resist venom."[3]

In an episode to the Mahâbhârata,[4] written probably at a period subsequent to the Code of Manu, a most graphic and vigorous description is given of the ocean being churned for the recovery of lost treasures; the most essential of which was the ambrosia, which confers life and health. Mr. Fergusson[5] calls attention to the very significant fact, that even the gods and the Asuras failed in efforts to obtain this ambrosia until they were assisted by the serpents.[6] But when Ananta, the serpent-king, bid the great snake Vâsuki wind himself as a churning cord around the mountain Mandâra, all the gods pulled vigorously at the living cord, until from the agitated floods uprose the moon and the goddess Lakshmî, the white horse and the wonderful gem called kaustubha, and at length Dhanwantari the physician, bearing in his hands a white jug containing the coveted ambrosia.[7] After this striking apparition we lose sight of Dhanwantari, until he

[1] Muir, in J. R. A. S. (New Series), vol. ii. p. 28. Rig-Veda, ix. 112.

[2] Code of Manu, iii. 152, 180.

[3] Ibid, 208, 210, 212, 220; vii. 218.

[4] Cited by Sir W. Jones, Discourse; and Royle, A. H. M., p. 151.

[5] Fergusson, notes on Tree and Serpent Worship. Intro., p. 70.

[6] This accords with a notion which was very prevalent in ancient times, of serpent-worshippers being in possession of valuable medical secrets.

[7] Fauche, i. 124; Mahâbhârata, i. 1140.

turns up again as the supposed author of the Ayur-Veda, "Veda of long life."

The only work at present existing under this title,[1] "Ayur-Veda," is said to have been revealed by Dhanwantari to his pupil Susruta; Dhanwantari having himself, as he declares, received it from the god Brahmâ.

Before proceeding to treat briefly of this, and the other more important medical works now existing in print or manuscript, we will quote the opinion which the late Professor Wilson entertained of the medical science of ancient India.

The ancient Hindus, he says, "attained as thorough a proficiency in medicine and surgery as any people whose acquisitions are recorded.[2] This," he says, "might be expected, because their patient attention and natural shrewdness" would render them excellent observers; whilst the extent and fertility of their native country "would furnish them with many valuable drugs and medicaments. Their diagnosis is said, in consequence, "to define and distinguish symptoms with great accuracy; and their materia medica is most voluminous. Some of their works are on regimen and diet; others on chikitsâ,—medical treatment of disease. Pharmacy they recognise, but in this subject they are obviously deficient; and even the works which survive are of "little avail in the present generation, as they are very rarely studied and still more rarely understood, by any of the practising empyrics." [3]

We will turn now to such information as we are able to obtain from ancient works in Sanskrit; and here it seems probable, that the oldest existing treatise on medicine is that ascribed to a son of the Vedic saint, Atri, and hence called the Atreya-Sanhitâ. This work has not been translated into English; but I am favoured by a Sanskrit scholar with notes, from which the following abstract is condensed.

[1] Wilson's Works, vol. iii. p. 272. [2] Ibid, p. 269 [3] Ibid, p. 270.

Chapters 1 to 3 may be considered as a general introduction.

Chapter 1 relates the meeting of Atreya with some of his pupils on the northern face of the Himalaya. Hârîta, one of these pupils, asks questions on the origin and treatment of disease. Atreya explains that the Ayur-Veda, meaning medical science, could not be fully communicated within the limits of human life, and that his pupils must therefore content themselves with a brief account of the smallest of his own compositions, which is comprised within 1500 slokas (or verses).

Chapter 2 shows the general division of his work into six books, and gives their names. In conclusion, it states the eight constituent parts of the Ayur-Veda.

Chapter 3 classifies diseases, as: 1st, curable; 2nd, incurable; 3rd, curable by charms; 4th, scarcely possible to cure. This chapter also distinguishes the patients to whom physicians must attend, and on what terms, and signifies to what persons they must refuse assistance.

Chapter 4 treats on the physical influence of soil and season; on age and temper, and on the influence of the winds.

Chapter 5 enumerates the six tastes: as sweet, astringent, bitter, sour, salt, and pungent; and enumerates the influence of each on the human body.

Chapter 6 treats of the medical qualities of different kinds of water: as the water of the Ganges, which comes from heaven; water which comes from the sea; water which comes from clouds in general; and water which comes from thunder-clouds, snow, or ice.

This chapter concludes with prescriptions for the use of hot water or cold water in specified diseases.

Chapter 7 discusses the physical and medical properties of milk,—distinguishing the milk of kine, goats, ewes, buffaloes, camels, women. It states the cases in which the drinking of milk, of either kind, is beneficent; and concludes by discoursing on the medical properties of butter-milk.

Chapter 8 continues this subject.

Chapter 9 treats on the medicinal qualities of sugar-cane, and of preparations from it.

Chapter 10 on sour gruel.

Chapters 11 and 12 on infusions prepared from rice, barley, and other grains.

Chapter 13 on oils prepared from tila, flax, the castor-oil plant, and others.

Chapters 14, 15, 16, also treat on the medical properties of rice, and various kinds of grain.

Chapter 17 discusses four kinds of potherbs, according to their leaves, flowers, fruits, and bulbous roots.

Chapter 18 is on sweet fruits,—as mangoes, rose-apples, pomegranates, myrobolans, citrons, grapes, and the fruits of carissa-coriander, and of the mimusops elengi.

Chapter 19 treats on four kinds of spirituous liquor, as made from molasses, honey, meal, and nogweed.

Chapter 20 describes animals, as hoofed or horned beasts of prey, birds, fishes, snakes living in the water or in arid tracts. Many species are given under each division, and the medical properties of their flesh are described.

Chapter 21 gives dietetical rules and prescriptions, and discusses the properties of food prepared from various combinations of the materials previously described.

The second main division of Atreya's work, called Arishtaka, consists of eight chapters.

Chapter 1 treats on the moral causes of diseases. All diseases are said to spring from men's actions. All resemble hell, the curable as well as the incurable. And to some crimes fantastic punishments are assigned; as, if a man kills a Brâhman, he will be afflicted with jaundice; one who kills a king, with consumption.

Chapter 2 is on dreams.

The subject of the six remaining chapters appears to be lucky and unlucky symptoms and forebodings.

The third division of this work is called Chikitsita, which means, we observed, medical treatment. This portion treats of diseases in detail. It appears to display much accurate observation, which can only be glanced at in these pages. Intermittent fevers are distinguished as of four kinds, returning at an interval of one day, three days, four days, or at some longer interval.

Much is said of diarrhœa, dysentery, and allied diseases. Indigestion is described as flatulency, caused apparently by overeating; and accompanied by sleeplessness, pains in the limbs, burning of the throat, &c. The eighth chapter is devoted to the sound and unsound condition of the digestive fire (Agni) of the stomach. The tenth treats of sharp pains, especially in the stomach, produced by excessive fatigue, night-walking, sorrow, cold food, &c.

The remaining chapters continue the subject of diseases, touching also on consumption and various kinds of hæmorrhage.

The last division treats of antidotes.

Charaka ranks next in antiquity to Atreya, amongst renowned Sanskrit authors of medical works. Charaka's Sanhitâ possesses even greater interest, we understand, than Susruta's Ayur-Veda, which is usually regarded as the standard work of ancient Hindu medicine. Charaka appears to have been a person of varied thought and culture, and to have had an earnest desire to teach men so to manage their bodies, as not only to avoid all unnecessary pain on earth, but so as to ensure happiness after death. Charaka himself states, that originally the contents or material of his work was communicated by Atreya to Agnivesa. By Agnivesa it was taught to Charaka, and by Charaka it was condensed "where it was too prolix, and expanded where it seemed too brief." The result of Charaka's labour was a work of considerable extent: no less than one hundred and twenty chapters, in eight divisions. This work so strongly bears the impress of the Hindu mind at the period of its production, that we have greatly desired to meet with a translation. But although text

and translation are both, we understand, in course of publication in India, we have been unable to procure even that portion which is already printed. We have, therefore, been most thankful to receive from a friend an abstract made from the Sanskrit manuscripts of the India Office library.

The first division of Charaka's Sanhitâ is called Slokasthâna. It consists of thirty chapters. Chapter 1 relates the origin of the work, and gives a brief summary. Chapters 2, 3, and 4 treat on medical plants and their properties. Chapters 5 to 7 on matters of diet. Chapter 8 on the senses, and on the elements with which the senses correspond. Chapters 9 and 10 on the qualities which a physician must possess, and also on the qualities which are indispensable to his medicaments. Chapters 11 and 12 show the means by which long life may be secured and adverse influences counteracted. Chapter 13 treats on fat, and on the diseases thence arising. Chapter 14 on perspiration, and how it may be produced. Chapter 15 on medical instruments and appliances. Chapter 16 on the presents which a physician should receive. Chapter 17 gives a general enumeration of diseases and their symptoms. Chapter 18 treats on three descriptions of swellings. Chapters 19 and 20 give further enumerations of diseases and their causes. Chapter 21 is on the "eight defects of the constitution," and their influence on health. Chapter 22 on fasting, on getting fat, on sweating, &c. Chapter 23 on diseases arising from gourmandising. Chapter 24 on the blood and its affections. Chapter 25 on purusha, which means the soul. Chapter 26 on the six flavours or *rasas* (sweet, salt, pungent, &c.), and the effects of these on the body. Chapters 27 and 28 on the effects of different kinds of food and beverage. Chapter 29 on the vital organs. Chapter 30 on the heart. This division then concludes with a general eulogy on the Ayur-Veda.

The second division of Charaka's work is named Nidânasthâna, and treats in eight chapters on the symptoms of certain diseases, as: 1. Fever. 2. Plethora. 3. Gulma, or enlargement of spleen.

4. Twenty varieties of urinary disease. 5. Seven kinds of leprosy. 6. Four varieties of sosha, or consumption. 7. Five descriptions of mania. 8. Four kinds of epilepsy.

The third division, called Vimânasthâna, likewise consists of eight chapters. Chapter 1 shows the action of flavour and substance on the body. Chapter 2 the three stages of digestion. Chapter 3 the causes of diseases (climatic and religious). Chapter 4 gives three kinds of diagnosis. Chapter 5 treats on some of the constituent parts of the body. Chapter 6 gives a general description of diseases (curable and incurable, mental and bodily, organic and accidental, &c.). Chapter 7 gives a general classification of patients. Chapter 8 treats on the modes of studying medicine, on the manner in which a student of medicine should behave, and how one physician should conduct an argument with another physician, &c.

The fourth division bears the name of Sarîrasthâna, and this also contains eight chapters, treating on the following subjects:

Chapter 1, purusha,—soul, and its relation to the body, and the organs of sense as explained in Hindu philosophy. Chapters 2 to 4 on the fœtus, and its physical and moral development. Chapter 5 on the soul, as a part of the body when born. Chapter 6 on the nature of the human body. Chapter 7 enumerates all its parts; and Chapter 8 treats on generation.

The fifth division is called Indriyasthâna, and has twelve chapters. 1. On colour, as indicating health or approaching death. 2. On smells or tastes which forebode death. 3. On feelings which forebode the same. 4. On other symptoms by which physicians may prognosticate life or death. 5. On dreams, as foreboding death. 7—10. On other bodily symptoms of the same character. 11—12. On omens and other signs, independent of the body which indicate approaching death.

The sixth division is Chikitsitasthâna. It consists of thirty chapters, and the subject is therapeutics Chapters 1 and 2 treat on elixirs of life, and their preparation. The subjects of

the other chapters are as follows:—3. Fever. 4. Plethora. 5. Enlargement of spleen (gulma). 6. Urinary diseases. 7. Leprosy. 8. Consumption. 9. Mania. 10. Epilepsy. 11. A disease of the chest, called kshata kshîna. 12. Swellings. 13. Enlargement of the abdomen. 14. Piles. 15. Dysentery. 16. Pallor. 17. Hiccough. 18. Catarrh. 19. Diarrhœa. 20. Vomiting. 21. Erysipelas. 22. Thirst. 23. Poisoning. 24. Raving. 25. Sores. 26. Diseases affecting the three vital cavities (belly, chest, and head). 27. Paralysis of the lower extremities. 28. Flatulency. 29. Gout. 30. Diseases of generative organs.

The seventh division, or Kalpasthâna, has twelve chapters, which treat on drugs, &c., which cause vomiting and purging, and on how to administer such drugs in the treatment of disease. Six hundred medicines of this character are mentioned, and classified according to the place they come from, and their inherent properties.

The eighth and last division is Siddhisthâna. This also consists of twelve chapters. From 1 to 8 show in what manner the medicines described in the Kalpasthâna should be introduced into the body by means of syringes and tubes, and shows also in what cases emetics, and purgatives, and enemas, should not be used. Chapter 9 treats on diseases caused by external injuries to either of the vital cavities mentioned above, and of treatment in such cases by enemas and purgatives. The vital organs included in these vital cavities (chest, belly, and head), are enumerated as one hundred and seven. Chapters 10 to 12 are again chiefly occupied with the uses of enemas.

Susruta is reported to have lived rather later than Charaka, to have been his pupil, and to have excelled his instructor in salya and sâlâkya. Salya means, the art of extracting extraneous substances; while sâlâkya signifies, the treatment of external organs, as in the case of affections or diseases of the eyes, ears, &c.

To these branches of medicine Susruta appears chiefly to have

devoted his work, saying, on the authority of Dhanwantari, that salya is "the first or the best of the medical sciences; less liable than any other to the fallacy of conjectural and inferential practice; pure in itself; perpetual in its applicability; the worthy produce of heaven, and certain source of fame."[1] But although surgery is his main subject, he also largely introduces "the treatment of general diseases and the management of women and children, when discussing topics to which they bear relation."[2]

Susruta describes many mechanical modes of giving relief in illness, as, "horns, open at the extremities;" and gourds, to be used in the place of our cupping-glasses. The pressure of the atmosphere was removed from the horn by suction, and from the gourd by rarefaction of air, produced by the heat of a lamp.[3] The implements he mentions are, Professor Wilson states, in number, one hundred and one. They include pincers; something similar to the syringe; tubes, and accessories,—such as twine, leather, bark-skin, cloth. But "the first, best, and most important of all implements," he declares to be the hand.

Twenty *sastras*, or surgical instruments, made of metal, are next enumerated. These must be always bright, handsome, polished, sharp; sufficiently so, indeed, as to be capable of dividing a hair longitudinally. A commentator, Vâgbhata, adds, that they were in general not above six inches in length, the blade forming about a half or quarter of that length."[4]

Some of the means by which dexterity in the use of instruments is to be attained were suggested, probably, by the prevailing religious prejudice against dissection. Professor Wilson calls them "striking specimens of the lame contrivances to which the want of the only effective vehicle of instruction, human dissection, compelled the Hindus to have recourse." Thus, we

[1] As quoted by Professor Wilson. Works, vol. iii. p. 276.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid, pp. 381—383.
[4] A plate, containing drawings of twenty cutting instruments, is inserted in Wise's Hindu Medicine. Calcutta, 1845, facing p. 169.—Wilson's Works, vol. iii. p. 386.

find pupils instructed to practise "the different kinds of scission,—longitudinal, transverse, inverted, and circular," on flowers, bulbs, and gourds. Incission they must practise "on skins, or bladders filled with paste or mire; scarification, on the fresh hides of animals, from which the hair has not been removed; puncturing or lancing, on the hollow stalks of plants, or the vessels of dead animals; extraction, on the cavities of the same, or fruits with many large seeds, as the jack and bel; sutures, on skin and leather; and ligatures and bandages, on well-made models of human limbs." That skin, leather, and even dead carcases, could be so used, "surprises us," says the Professor, "by their supposed incompatibility with what we have hitherto been disposed to consider as insurmountable prejudices."[1]

Susruta himself seems to have countenanced dissection as necessary for the attainment of competent medical knowledge. He gives, in fact, the general direction, "that the teacher shall seek to perfect his pupil by the application of all expedients which he may think calculated to effect his proficiency." And that Susruta had great reliance on "instruments," may be inferred from his saying that caustics, emollients, and "other substitutes for instrumental agents, are only to be had recourse to where it is necessary to humour the weakness of the patient." Susruta observes further, that "they are found serviceable, where the surgeon has to deal with princes and persons of rank, old men, women and children, and individuals of a timid and effeminate character."

Susruta distinguishes disorders occasioned by external injuries from such as are caused by vitiated blood, bile, wind, and phlegm, or these four combined. A third class of disorders he attributes to passions,—as rage, fear, sorrow, joy. On the qualifications necessary for a man who would treat the disorders and diseases to which the human frame is liable, Susruta expresses himself in the following interesting passage, quoted by Professor Wilson:—

[1] Wilson's Works, vol. iii. pp. 387—389.

"The judicious alleviation of human infirmities, the means of which were compassionately revealed by the gods, can only be effected by the knowledge that is to be gained from study and practice conjoined. He who is only versed in books will be alarmed and confused, like a coward in the field of battle, when he is called upon to encounter active disease. He who rashly engages in practice without previous conversancy with written science, will be entitled to no respect from mankind, and merits punishment from the king. Those men who, in ignorance of the human frame, venture to make it the subject of their experiments, are the murderers of their species. He alone, who is endowed with both theory and experience, proceeds with safety and stability, like a chariot on two wheels."[1]

In a Sanskrit treatise, quoted by Sir William Ainslie, it is said that a physician "must be a person of strict veracity, and of the greatest sobriety and decorum. He ought to be thoroughly skilled in all the commentaries on the Ayur-Veda, and be otherwise a man of sense and benevolence. His heart must be charitable, his temper calm, and his constant study how to do good. Such a man is properly called a good physician; and such a physician ought still daily to improve his mind by an attentive perusal of scientific books. When a sick person expresses himself peevishly or hastily, a good physician is not thereby provoked to impatience; he is mild, yet courageous, and cherishes a cheerful hope."[2] . . . . .

The physician is exhorted to be patient, candid, and encouraging, because, although a man "may be afraid of his father, mother, friends, and *guru*," he must not fear his physician. To consult a physician in illness, is an imperative duty; and "a person rejecting a vaidya, or physician, will be punished in hell."

The presence of a physician for the cure of a disease is "as indispensable as a pilot is to a boat." "If a physician is not

[1] Wilson. vol. iii. p. 382. [2] Royle, A. H. M., p. 52.

consulted when a person is ill, he will soon die, as a lamp exposed to wind is . . . . . liable to be extinguished.

A severe disease may sometimes be cured immediately by a good physician, but a simple disease is much increased by the want of early assistance. "At the commencement, like a young plant, it is readily rooted up, but as it expands and grows in strength the difficulties are much increased."

When a physician is sent for, he must inquire what the sick person has eaten or otherwise done to produce the disease. He should then mark the signs of longevity in his patient; as "long arms and fingers; large eyes, forehead, trunk, teeth, mouth, hands, feet, and shoulders." "Fore-legs short and fleshy," a short neck, deep voice, "external ears long," are also signs of a long life. It is then observed, that Brâhmans and Rajahs are cured with difficulty, "because they will not always take the proper remedies, and the physician is afraid to urge his instructions." The same is said to be the case with women, children, and old people, who neglect or disobey prescriptions. A sick person who deceives his physician, or is at enmity with him, is not likely to get cured; and one who lives in the house of a person who despises the physician, "has the smallest possible chance of recovery."[1]

Having ascertained that India has possessed medical science, one desires to know at what periods the scientific works were written, the voluminous prescriptions made, and the bold surgical operations performed; but so indifferent is India to questions of chronology, and indeed to dates in general, that no assistance can be derived from her for the solving of such questions. We must therefore content ourselves by following the late Dr. Royle, in collecting evidence from Arabs, Greeks, and other foreigners, which bear to a certain degree on the age of Hindu medicine.

It is well known that the Khalifs of Baghdad collected around

[1] Wise, Hind. Med., 19, 22, 23, 28.

them all the learning of their era. Sardis, Persepolis, Damascus, Tarsus, Alexandria, and many other schools of learning, sent their representatives; and amongst these learned men we find Hindu physicians. Somewhere between A.D. 753 and 774, Al-Mansur, or Almanazor, appears to have removed the seat of Arab government from Damascus to the newly-built city of Baghdad; and to those who love ancient India, one of the most interesting circumstances connected with this Khalif is, that he had frequent communication with the Persians, or Sassanians, of Persepolis; and that by his command the Sanskrit fables, called Fables of Pilpay, which had been rendered from Sanskrit into Pehlevi,[1] were translated into Arabic, and thus diffused throughout Europe. Al-Mansur appears to have had a general delight in learning, for he also commanded the translation of "an Indian astronomical treatise;" and what is more directly to our purpose, he caused translations to be made from the Sanskrit of medical scientific works, among which we find particularised, "a tract upon poisons," by Shanak (meaning Charaka); and a treatise on medicine, or materia medica, by Shashurd (meaning Susruta).[2]

Also amongst the learned men assembled at Baghdad there were, as already observed, many Greeks; and the later Greek physicians are found to have been acquainted with the medical works of the Hindus, and to have availed themselves of their medicaments. Touching but very lightly upon these points, we note that Artaxerxes was attended by a Greek physician, and that Valerian, when taken to Sardis as a captive, was accompanied by a physician. So, also, when the daughter of the Emperor Aurelian married Sapor II., we find Greek physicians to have been amongst her attendants. And, as a home for these Greeks, the city of Jondisabour, or Nisabur, was built; and the city,

[1] *See* our chapter on Hindu Fables, in vol. ii. of this work.

[2] Colebrooke, Algebra of the Hindus, vol. ii. p. 512.

being thus colonized by learned men, became a celebrated school of medicine. At this school was educated Gabriel Bactishna, a Syrian, who went to Baghdad to attend Al-Mansur medically, and became one of the translators of works on medicine from Sanskrit into Arabic.[1] Greek physicians, or men educated at Græco-Asiatic schools of medicine, appear to have done much to preserve and diffuse the medical science of India; and this gives us a direct interest in their references to India. We find, for instance, that the Greek physician Actuarius celebrates the Hindu medicine called tryphala. He does not call it a Hindu remedy, but he mentions the peculiar products of India of which it is composed by their Sanskrit name Myrobalans. Ætius, again, who was a native of Amida, in Mesopotamia, and studied at Alexandria about the end of the fifth century, not only speaks of the Myrobalans, but mentions them as the proper cure for elephantiasis, which he notes as a disease common in India. It is unnecessary to give more than these flying allusions to "India in Greece;" but "India in Baghdad," or the presence of Hindus and Hindu science at the courts of the Khalifs affords direct evidence of a period prior to which the medical science must have been matured in India. We give full attention, therefore, to the Arabs, and we learn with interest that Serapion, one of their earliest writers, mentions the Indian Charaka, praising him as an authority in medicine, and referring to the Myrobalans as forming part of Charaka's prescriptions.[2]

The Myrobalans, which Serapion recommends on the authority of the *Indian Charaka,* are the produce of three trees: 1st, of terminalia chebula; 2nd, of terminalia bellerica; 3rd, of phyllanthus emblica. The name triphala is used for this medicine in the Sanskrit dictionary called the Amara Kosha, about the beginning of the Christian era. In Professor Wilson's Paper on Leprosy, as known to the Hindus, he gives a prescription

[1] Dietz, Analecta Medica.

[2] Royle, Ant. Hind. Med., p. 36.

from Susruta, of which triphala, translated three Myrobalans, forms a chief ingredient.[1]

More interesting than Serapion was Rhazes. We find him at Baghdad with Al-Mansur. He is said to have been a learned, liberal, and accomplished physician, whose practice was lucrative, but who devoted his time so largely to the poor that he died in penury. Al-Mansur inquired his opinion as to the kind of physician to be preferred. Rhazes wrote in reply, that a desirable physician must have been "industrious in perusing and examining the books of the ancient physicians," and he should also have "practised in populous cities, where there were great numbers of patients as well as of physicians;"[2] but that if both qualifications could not be had in perfection, it were better to be wanting in a measure in practice, "than to know nothing at all of the learning of the ancients. Rhazes wrote twelve books on chemistry, one of these being a treatise on alchemy. His most important contribution to science is his account of the small-pox, which he was the first to describe.[3] On two occasions Rhazes refers to the "Indian Charaka" as an authority for statements on plants or drugs.[4]

Another celebrated medical man, immediately succeeding Rhazes, is Avicenna, called Sheikh Reyes, or the prince of physicians. Dr. Rutherfurd Russell gives the following account of him. "He was born in Bokhara, whither his father had gone with a son of the same Al-Mansur to whom Rhazes wrote the epistle we have quoted. Avicenna became celebrated, at a very early age, for the extent of his acquirements in all branches of knowledge, including dialectics, geometry, and astronomy." His career was chequered. At one time he was a grand vizier, at another a fugitive for his life. He died at the age of fifty-eight,

[1] Royle, Ancient Hind. Med., p. 37. Wise, Hin. Med. p. 365.
[2] Heroes of Medicine: 1861. By Rutherfurd Russel, M.D., p. 111.
[3] Rutherfurd Russell, pp. 110—112. Rhazes, on Small-Pox and Measles, translated by Dr. Greenhill. London, 1847, p. 137 ff.
[4] Royle, Ancient Hind. Med., p. 38.

in the year 1036. He translated into Arabic the works of Aristotle.

In treating of leeches, Avicenna begins by a reference to what the "Indians say," and then gives nearly the very words of Susruta, describing the six poisonous leeches, amongst which are those called krishna or black, the hairy leech, that which is variegated like a rainbow, that which is striped yellow and black, &c., &c.[1]

In the reign of Harún-al-Rashíd, we find not only that the medical treatises of the Hindus were valued by the Arabs, but that Hindu physicians actually lived at Harún-al-Rashíd's court. For this information we are indebted to the Arab author, Ibn Osaiba, whose biographies are quoted by Professor Dietz.[2] Ibn Osaiba states that Manka was a Hindu, eminent in the art of medicine, learned in Sanskrit literature. He made a journey from India to Iraca, cured the Khalif Harún-al-Rashíd of an illness, and translated a work on poison by Charaka from Sanskrit into Persian.

Another native of India, named Saleh, is also celebrated by Ibn Osaiba. He was, he says, one of the most learned amongst learned Hindus, and greatly skilled in curing disease according to Indian modes. He lived in Iraca during the reign of Harún-al-Rashíd. He travelled to Egypt and Palestine, died, and was buried in Egypt.

From these foreign witnesses we do not learn the date of any of the celebrated medical works of ancient India; but we may gather from them thus much, that they had already attained world-wide celebrity, when the Khalifs of Baghdad collected the greatest works and summoned the most learned scientific men of their era to give brilliancy to Baghdad as a seat of learning.

To exhibit India's ancient science is impossible to Europeans

[1] Royle, Ancient Hind. Med., p. 38. Wilson's Works, vol. iii. p. 390. Susr., i., ch. 13.

[2] Analecta Medica, p. 124. Leipzig, 1833.

unacquainted with Sanskrit, or not having access to the native medical libraries, in which we understand many medical books are strictly withheld from the European eye. An interesting summary of such works as Hindus could be persuaded to exhibit may, however, be found in a "Commentary of the Hindu System of Medicine," published by Dr. Wise. From his pages we transfer some scattered hints.

"Man is like a coachman driving his own carriage; if this be well made, and if he continue to drive cautiously, it will go a long time; but if he drive it upon bad roads the wheels will get injured, and the carriage will be soon worn out."[1]

Amongst the essential parts of a man's body are chyle, blood, bone.

"Good chyle produces good health, and with it bravery, strength, and a fine colour of the body, and retentive memory.[2]

"The blood is derived from the digested parts of the chyle, and by being concocted by the bile, becomes red "[3]

Too little blood makes the skin rough and the vessels lax and feeble. Too much blood produces fevers and other diseases. But—

"Blood is never deranged by itself, as whatever acts unfavourably on it produces first its effect upon the air, phlegm, and bile; and then it acts on the blood. On this account the diseases of the blood are cured, by first curing the derangements of the humours."

Bone is said to be formed from blood and fat. If the essential element of the bones diminishes in the system, "they become painful, the teeth and nails crack, become loose, and the body becomes dry."

The number of bones in the body is given by Susruta as 300, by Charaka as 306,—the difference being, as to whether cartilages count as bones.

[1] Wise, Hind. Med., p. 80. [2] Ibid, p. 49. [3] Ibid, pp. 50—52.

Omitting further notice of the component parts of the body, we turn to the "nature of temperaments," and find a man with too much bile described thus:—

" . . . . . his fortune is bad, his hair becomes soon grey, the upper part of his head bald, and his skin wrinkled, as if by age. He eats much, and dislikes warm articles of food; is soon angry, and is as soon pacified; is of moderate strength, and does not live long. His memory is good, and he is a good man of business, and speaks accurately, and to the purpose. His appearance is fine, and in company he excels in speaking."[1]

Temperament is affected by climate.

"The moist country (Anûpa) is intersected by rivers; . . . . the air is cool. There, lilies and other water-flowers abound: geese, ducks, cranes, ... fish and serpents, are numerous. In such a situation the inhabitants are unhealthy, and are short-lived. There, diseases of air and phlegm abound; and the inhabitants are fat, indolent and weak. In such situations the juices of the body require to be dried by the use of hot, dry, and light food, in small quantities; so as to strengthen the internal fire."

In the hot, hilly country, where arid plains are covered with dwarf trees and prickly shrubs, the inhabitants have little muscle and large bones. The diseases of air and bile are most frequent. The climate is healthy, and the inhabitants are good workmen, and long-lived.[2]

Under the head of Personal Duties, Dr. Wise speaks of diet, saying, that "The medical writers usually commence the cure of a disease by arranging the diet that is to be followed by the sick person. So much do the Hindu physicians rely upon diet, that they declare that most diseases may be cured by following carefully dietetic rules; and if a patient does not attend to his diet, a hundred good medicines will not remove the disease. The generality of diseases being supposed to be produced by derange-

[1] Wise, Hind. Med., p. 77. [2] Ibid, p. 85.

ment of the humours, if one or more are morbidly increased in quantity, their indications of cure are commenced by promoting the just balance of elements and humours." [1]

In the chapter on pharmacy, it is said that the Hindu physicians participated largely in the error of employing drugs, without examining sufficiently the properties of simple medicines, and supposed they augmented efficacy by multiplying ingredients. In confirmation of this remark, we may refer to an ancient prescription, transcribed by Dr. Rutherfurd Russell,[2] consisting of forty-six separate items. Much good advice is given in the ancient Hindu works on choosing herbs which are well-grown in a good soil. Those from the Himalaya mountains are the best, as the juice of such plants is usually the strongest; and medicines must be fresh, have their proper smell, and, after a year, must be thrown away. Cowherds, hunters, &c., may be employed to collect medicinal plants; but a Brâhman should be preferred, particularly if he is poor.

Better advice is that the physician himself "should penetrate forests and climb mountains, to examine the plants in their natural situations; and this physician "should not despise the information obtained from hunters and shepherds, who may have had opportunities of witnessing their effects." [3]

In a division of Susruta's work on antidotes, which is called the Kalpasthâna, medicinal drugs and plants are arranged as: tuberous and bulbous roots, bark of roots, bark of large trees, fruits and seeds, acrid and astringent vegetables, milky plants, gums and resins. This work appears to give the earliest information on medical geography.[4]

When treating on modes of administering medicines, we find it observed that—

"Medicines, given in too small doses, will be like throwing a little water upon a large fire, which rather increases than diminishes it."

[1] Wise, Hind. Med. p. 98.
[2] Heroes of Med., p. 123.
[3] Wise, Hind. Med. p. 25.
[4] Royle, p. 54.

And again, if the medicine is given in doses which are too large, it will be liable to produce other diseases.[1]

In treating of the digestive organs in the sixth chapter, Susruta says that dyspepsia results when a person is sleepy or in a passion, afraid, grieved or fatigued at the time of eating; when he sleeps during the day instead of at night, and eats at irregular times. When there is want of digestion, it is said further, although a dyspeptic man may think his appetite good, and eat food, it does not nourish his body, but acts as a poison in destroying him.[2]

Some other diseases are enumerated, under distinct heads; as diseases of the mind, diseases of the head and neck, and diseases of the chest, including asthma, cough, and heart disease. Diseases caused by poisons and hydrophobia are also touched on. The last book treats on the diseases peculiar to women and children, concluding with "Diseases produced by Devils," which terrible class of disorders is by no means peculiar to women and children. On the contrary, evil spirits are represented as being ever present on the watch to seize upon all unguarded persons. Those who are attentive to religious duties, and respectful towards holy men, escape these afflictions; but the person who omits prescribed ceremonies is taken possession of by any lurking demon,—be it Vetâl, Pisâcha, Srî-sarpa, &c.

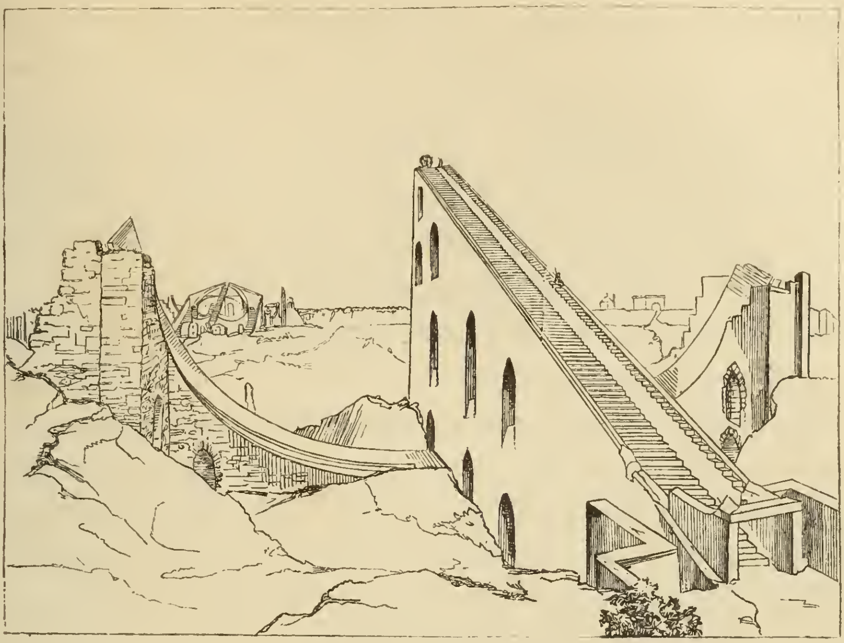
In commencing this chapter we felt that medical science appeared in ancient India like a phantom; for although it is a reality, we do not see it affecting society there as it does in other ancient countries. We never hear of physicians, whether Hindu or foreign, as residing at the courts of sovereigns in India. Physicians never assist in the plots of Hindu fiction, nor do physicians appear on battle fields or at death beds, either in history or poetry. Nevertheless, medicine and surgery are facts in ancient India; and the treatment indicated in certain critical cases led Professor Wilson to observe, that "the operations are rude,

[1] Wise, Hin. Med., pp. 127, 128. [2] Ibid, p. 329.

and very imperfectly described. They were evidently bold, and must have been hazardous: their being attempted at all is, however, most extraordinary, unless their obliteration from the knowledge be considered a still more remarkable circumstance. It would be an inquiry of some interest, to trace the causes of the disappearance of surgery from amongst the Hindus: it is evidently of comparatively modern occurrence, as operative and instrumental practice forms so principal a part of those writings which are undeniably most ancient, and which, being regarded as the composition of inspired writers, are held of the highest authority."

This inquiry is connected with the progress of manners; "for the persons, whoever they were, who wrote in the character of Munis, or deified sages, would not have compromised that character by imparting precepts utterly contrary to the ritual or the law, or at variance with the principles and prejudices of their countrymen." And in alluding to certain passages in Susruta and his commentator Vâgbhata, Professor Wilson says there is much in them "which is utterly irreconcilable with present notions, and we must, therefore, "infer that the existing sentiments of the Hindus are of modern date, growing out of an altered state of society, and unsupported by their oldest and most authentic civil and moral, as well as medical institutes." [1]

[1] H. H. Wilson's Works, vol. iii. p. 391.



Gnomon, near Delhi.

CHAPTER XIX.

ASTRONOMY, ALGEBRA, ETC.

Constellations in Rig-Veda.—Moon, month.—Calendars for regulating religious ceremonies.—Investigation of the Sûrya-Siddhânta.—Aryabhata,—accurate observations, A.D. 500.—*Varâhamihira, astronomer and astrologer.—Bhâskarâchârya.—Algebra.—Our figures derived from old Sanskrit letters.—Decline of astronomy in India.*

Eastern nations have ever loved to contemplate "the floor of heaven, thick inlaid with patines of bright gold."

The sun, the moon, planets, stars, and eclipses, were watched by Hindus with adoring reverence, until in later times they became to them bright pages wherein "to read the fate of men and empires." But we shall find that they were astronomers before they became astrologers, and that they were star-gazing poets before they became astronomers.

Sun, moon, and stars, are described with quaint and affectionate observation in the Rig-Veda, and in the Brâhmanas. The dawn is the daughter of the sun, who leads forth the white horses of her father's car. The sun, the "golden-handed, all-beholding Savitri," "travels by an upward and by a downward path."[1] He "reaches the summit of the sky, dispersing darkness." He "lights up the eight points of the horizon." He travels downwards, he "unyokes his horses," and "night extends the veiling darkness over all."[2]

The day on which the sun "reaches the summit of the sky," is made important in the ancient ceremonial. Fear is expressed in the Aitareya-Brâhmana lest "at the highest pitch" he should lose his balance; and therefore, the gods "pulled him up and tied him with five ropes," the five ropes being chanted prayers.[3]

Some other curious observations relating to the sun occur in this Brâhmana; as, "that the sun burns with the greatest force after it has passed the meridian, and that the prayers which accompany the third or evening libation should therefore be pronounced with the greatest force of the performer's voice." And again, it is said that the sun "does never set nor rise." When people think it sets, it is not so; for "after having arrived at the end of the day it makes itself produce two opposite effects: making night to what is below, and day to what is on the other side."[4]

More significant for our purpose, because bearing on the first indications of astronomy, is the mention of the moon and stars.

> "These constellations, placed on high, which are visible by night, and go elsewhere by day, are the undisturbed holy acts of Varuna; (and by his command) the moon moves resplendent by night."[5]

And again:

[1] Wilson, Rig-Veda, vol. i. p. 98.
[2] Ibid, p. 305.
[3] Haug's Aitareya-Brâhmana, ii. p. 291.
[4] Haug's Aitareya-Brâhmana, ii. p. 242.
[5] Wilson's Rig-Veda, vol. i. p. 63; Rig-Veda, i. 24.

"(At the approach) of the all-illuminating sun, the constellations depart with the night, like thieves."[1]

The word used, on this occasion, Professor Wilson says, is nakshatrâni,—lunar asterisms. It is difficult, on many occasions, to determine whether the moon, or the soma-plant used in sacrifice, is intended by the word "soma." But there is one verse which distinctly gives us Soma,—the moon, travelling amongst the moon-stations.

"Soma is placed in the lap of these Nakshatras,"[2]

We may therefore assume, that close observation of the moon's progress, and of the appearance of the group of stars near which she passed, was already made when the Rig-Veda and the Brâhmanas were composed. In the first we find that the full moon, and the last day before the full moon, and the new moon, have distinctive epithets. In the thirty-second hymn of the second book of the Rig-Veda,[3] and in the Brâhmanas, there are legends describing the constellations. Orion (Prajâpati) is said to be in love with Aldebaran (Rohinî). Sirius desires to protect Aldebaran, or Rohinî, and shoots a three-jointed arrow through the back of the eager Orion. Therefore, to this day, Orion lies sprawling towards Aldebaran, the three stars in his belt being the three-jointed arrow. Aldebaran (Rohinî), or perhaps the whole constellation of Orion, was one of the nakshatras, or moon's mansions. Rohinî, says the legend, was King Soma's favourite, and he wished to remain with her constantly, but was compelled to divide his time equally amongst his other wives; or, in other words, to dwell for equal periods successively at each of the twenty-seven nakshatras. These passages indicate that the new moons and full moons were closely watched, which is also evident from the mention of a thirteenth month.

[1] Wilson's Rig-Veda, vol. i. p. 132; Rig-Veda, i. 50.

[2] Max Müller, A. S. L., p. 212; Rig-Veda, viii. 3.

[3] Ibid, *note*.

In Professor Wilson's translation of the Rig-Veda we read:

"He, who accepting the rites (dedicated to him), knows the twelve months and their productions, and that which is supplementarily engendered."[1]

"This passage is important," says Wilson in a note, "as indicating the concurrent use of the lunar and solar years at this period, and the method of adjusting the one to the other."

The name for the moon in Sanskrit, Greek, and German, is derived from a root, signifying to measure.[2] The moon was the "measurer." "Time was measured by nights, and moons, and winters, long before it was reckoned by days, and suns, and years."[3] The close connection between the names for moon and month make it probable "that a certain knowledge of lunar chronology existed," even before "the separation of the Indo-European family."[4]

New moon festivals and full moon festivals were integral elements in early Hindu worship, and each Veda appears to have had a calendar, called jyotisha; but whether any original copies of these calendars still exist, seems doubtful. They are interesting as being first steps in astronomy, although constructed solely with a view to the regulation of religious ceremonies.

In the days of Sir W. Jones, the originals of such calendars would have been deemed invaluable; for, so scientific in aspect is Hindu astronomy, that Sir W. Jones, and even Colebrooke and Lassen, hoped to obtain from it trustworthy dates. This question has lately been most thoroughly investigated; for the Sûrya-Siddhânta, one of the most important of Sanskrit works on astronomy, has been attacked, and defended, and explained, by a series of competent European scholars.

We will endeavour to state the results.

[1] Wilson, vol. i. pp. 65, 66; Rig-Veda, i. 25.
[2] Max Müller, A. S. L., 211.
[3] Science of Language, vol. i. p. 6.
[4] Max Müller, A. S. L., 212.

In the sixth volume of the Journal of the American Oriental Society, Professor Whitney, an American Sanskritist, who has also the advantage of a knowledge of astronomy, published an English translation, by the Rev. E. Burgess, of the Sûrya-Siddhânta, with an elaborate commentary and exposition, for the greater part by himself.[1] This paper excited comments from M. Biot, the late venerable astronomer of Paris, and from Professor Weber, of Berlin. Professor Whitney contributed two other papers to the Journal of the American Oriental Society, which were published in the eighth volume (1864 f.), and some further remarks to the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1865. M. Biot believed that the Hindus derived their system of nakshatras, or moon-stations, from the Chinese; and Professor Whitney shows that the Hindu nakshatra does not mean the same thing as the Chinese *sieu*. Sieu means a single star, whereas nakshatra generally expresses a group of stars, or rather a certain portion of the starry heavens. Professor Weber is cited as having shown that the "Chinese system of *sieu* was not traceable farther back than to two or three centuries before Christ;" whilst nakshatras are amongst the heavenly objects mentioned in Rig-Veda hymns. For an extended and thorough investigation of the position and value of the *nakshatras* we are indebted to Professor Weber, although he gives rather more importance to single stars than the American astronomer (from whose paper we are quoting) believes to have been given to them by the ancient Hindus.[2]

The Arab manázil, and the signs of the lunar zodiac, bear a marked resemblance to the Hindu nakshastras, being groups of stars marking out the ecliptic into twelve nearly equal divisions. Such a system, Professor Whitney observes, is as well suited as any that could be devised for a people seeking to define the daily

[1] Another translation of the Sûrya-Siddhânta, by Pandit Bâpû Deva Sâstrin, was published at Calcutta (Bibl. Ind.) in 1861.

[2] W. D. Whitney, Views of Biot and Weber, respecting the Relations of the Hindu and Chinese Systems of Asterisms, p. 25.

stages of the moon's revolution, without the aid of instruments. The difficulties of the case having been further considered, he continues, "all the conditions, then, which would postulate a choice of single stars, or of stars or groups separated by precisely equal intervals, or confined to the immediate vicinity of the ecliptic, are so entirely wanting, that no *à priori* probability of the construction of such a series can be claimed." [1]

The path of the moon was, in fact, marked by twenty-seven stations, believed by Hindu observers to be equi-distant. But when "a new and more exact astronomy had been brought in from the West," the moon was reduced in significance "to one of a class of planetary bodies, all whose movements were capable of being predicted, and their places at any given time determined," [2] and their conjunctions calculated by an elaborate system of rules. Then first the lesser planets were mentioned [3] by Hindu astronomers, and then first was an observation made by aid of the junction stars, which yielded a trustworthy date. That this must have been not far from A.D. 500 is proved, Professor Whitney considers, by evidence presented at the end of his note to verses two to nine of the eighth chapter of the Sûrya-Siddhânta.[4]

The results of this one grand effort, never repeated and never rivalled, are recorded with occasional slight and unexplained modifications by every succeeding author, from century to century.[5] The date coincides with that of the Hindu astronomer, Aryabhata; and Aryabhata, we understand, "availed himself largely of the progress which the Greeks (especially Hipparchus) had made in astronomy;" and "not only improved upon their new theories and inventions, but added also the results of his own independent investigations." [6]

In the time of Mr. Colebrooke, the works of Aryabhata were

[1] Whitney, Hindu and Chinese Asterisms, p. 27.
[2] Ibid, pp. 27, 28.
[3] Ibid, p. 89.
[4] Whitney, Hindu and Chinese Asterisms, p. 28.
[5] Ibid, l. l., p. 94.
[6] Knight's Cyclop., art. "Sanskrit."

only known by quotations and extracts given by his successors; but even under this disadvantage Mr. Colebrooke rightly judged the man and his relative place in history. "This ancient astronomer and algebraist was," he says, "anterior both to Varâhamihira and Brahmagupta, being repeatedly named by the latter; and the determination of the age when he flourished is particularly interesting, as his astronomical system, though on some points agreeing, essentially disagreed on others, with that which those authors have followed, and which the Hindu astronomers still maintain." [1] After remarking on the early prevalence of the system of Brahmagupta, he observes that "Aryabhata appears to have had more correct notions of the true explanation of celestial phenomena than Brahmagupta himself," who, often deviating from his predecessor's juster views, "has been followed by the herd of Hindu astronomers in a system not improved, but deteriorated, since the time of the more ancient author." [2]

The beginning of the sixth century stands out, therefore, as an important era in the history of astronomy in India; and every fragment of intelligence concerning Aryabhata and his works becomes invested with peculiar importance. It is ascertained on his own authority that Aryabhata was born at Kusumapura,[3] near the modern Patna.[4] The date which he assigns for his birth corresponds with A.D. 476. His name has been spelt by Colebrooke and other Orientalists, *Aryabhatta;* but in old Sanskrit works recently discovered it is written almost invariably with one *t*, Aryabhata; and this is, therefore, the spelling now adopted. In addition to most valuable criticism on this subject from Dr. Bhau Daji and from Dr. Kern, Dr. Fitz-Edward Hall has drawn attention to the fact, that "there were two Hindu astronomers called Aryabhata;[5] and this information is valuable,

[1] Colebrooke, Misc. Essays, vol. ii. p. 426.

[2] Ibid, p. 428.

[3] Brief Notes on the Age and Authenticity of the Works of Aryabhata, Varâhamihira, Brahmagupta, &c., &c. By Dr. Bhau Daji. J. R. A. S. (New Series), vol. i., pp. 392 ff. On some Fragments of Aryabhata. By Dr. H. Kern. J. R. A. S., vol. xx. p. 371. 1863.

[4] Ibid, p. 406.

[5] Ibid, p. 405.

because the second writer is proved to have been very inferior to the first, and their works being confused, led to the elder Aryabhata's being charged with inconsistency.

Aryabhata was evidently a great man, and is recognised as such by all Orientalists. Lassen calls him "the founder of mathematical and astronomical science in India;"[1] meaning, no doubt, that he gathered up the scattered learning of preceding centuries and infused into it the more correct views which his master-mind had received from Greek teaching. His style is said to be pre-eminently concise. His chief work is the Aryabhatîya-Sûtra, which includes two other works, the Dasagîti-Sûtra and the Aryâshtasata.[2] The Dasagîti-Sûtra, or Dasagîtikâ, is so called because it is written in *dasa* or ten, viz., strophes. And in like manner, the name Aryâshtasata was supposed to indicate eight hundred couplets. But Dr. Bhau Daji, becoming possessed of a copy, finds, not eight hundred, but one hundred and eight couplets.[3]

His idea of the roundness of the earth is thus expressed:—

"The terrestrial globe, a compound of earth, water, fire, and air, entirely round, encompassed by a girdle (*the equator*), stands in the air, in the centre of the stellar sphere. Like as a ball formed by the blossoms of the nauclea kadamba is on every side beset with flowerets, so is the earth-globe with all creatures, terrestial and aquatic."[4] . . . . .

And this globe he believed to have a daily revolution. "Aryabhata," says Dr. Kern, "for aught we know, was the first, and remained almost the sole, astronomer among his countrymen, who affirmed the daily revolution of the earth on its own axis."

He gives the following quotation from one of Aryabhata's works:—

"As a person in a vessel, while moving forwards, sees an immoveable

[1] Dr. Bhau Daji, on Aryabhata, in J. R. A. S. (New Series), vol. i. p. 395.
[2] Ibid, p. 397.
[3] Ibid, p. 399.
[4] J. R. A. S., vol. xx. p. 372. On some Fragments of Aryabhata. By Dr. H. Kern.

object moving backwards; in the same manner do the stars, however immoveable, seem to move daily."[1]

Thus showing that it is the earth, not the stars, which move.

On another occasion Aryabhata says, "the sphere of the stars is stationary; and the earth, making a revolution, produces the daily rising and setting of stars and planets."[2]

Mr. Colebrooke states that "Aryabhata affirmed the diurnal revolution of the earth on its axis;" that he accounted for it "by a wind or current of aerial fluid, the extent of which, according to the orbit assigned to it by him, corresponds to an elevation of little more than a hundred miles from the surface of the earth; that he possessed the true theory of the causes of lunar and solar eclipses, and disregarded the imaginary dark planets of the mythologists and astrologers,—affirming the moon and primary planets (and even the stars) to be essentially dark, and only illumined by the sun."[3]

But after attaining this excellence, astronomy in India appears gradually to have drifted away from science, for no second correct determination of polar longitude and polar latitude is recorded; and writers subsequent to Aryabhata confuse astronomy with astrology.

Astronomical and astrological science were divided into three branches, and the term *sanhitâ* was sometimes used to distinguish the whole, sometimes only one, of these branches. Dr. Kern says, "I think we may account for the ambiguity in this way: the whole knowledge of celestial phenomena,—of measuring time, of omina, of portents, of augury,—in short, natural astrology, went under the name Sanhitâ, before each of the three branches attained its full development. When in course of time the Hindus, through the Greeks, became acquainted with two separate branches of the knowledge of the stars (the one really

[1] J. R. A. S., vol. xx. p. 372. On some Fragments of Aryabhata. By Dr. H. Kern.

[2] Colebrooke, Misc. Essays, vol. ii. p. 392.

[3] Ibid, Appendix G., p. 467.

scientific, the other quasi-scientific), they must have felt some difficulty in incorporating the mathematical astronomy and the so-called judicial astrology into their Sanhitâ." And thus they occasionally referred to the three branches by the name Sanhitâ, although, as astrology gained importance, the second and third divisions are often called Sanhitâ, to the exclusion of scientific astronomy.

Varâhamihira may be cited as a celebrated astronomer, to whom astrology was irresistibly attractive. He "entered this life at Ougein, A.D. 530," and "went to heaven in the 509th year of the Saka Kâla," *i.e.*, A.D. 587.[1] He is called a Mâgadha Brâhman, meaning probably by descent. He attained excellence in each branch of the sanhitâ, and before writing his most celebrated treatise, called the Brihat-Sanhitâ, he had composed a work on pure astronomy. Dr. Kern observes, that he was in "the awkward position of a man who has to reconcile the exigencies of science with the decrees, deemed infallible, of the Rishis;" for curious examples of which he refers to the Brihat-Sanhitâ, chapters five and nine.[2]

But although Varâhamihira had not unlimited faith in the ancient Rishis, neither had he faith in Aryabhata, for he falls into errors which Aryabhata had exposed. His works have hitherto been very partially known to Europeans; for, with one exception, they have only existed in manuscript, and have been difficult to procure. In 1865, however, Dr. H. Kern, then professor at the Sanskrit college of Benares, edited the Brihat-Sanhitâ; and he is now engaged on a translation of this work into English, a portion of which has appeared in the fourth volume of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

Varâhamihira is noted for using Greek terms, and for his frequent reference to Yavanas (Greeks). His knowledge of

[1] Brief Notes. By Dr. Bhau Daji. J. R. A. S. (New Series), vol. i. p. 407.

[2] Brihat-Sanhitâ. Edited by Dr. Kern (Bib. Ind.). Calcutta, 1865. Introduction, pp. 27 and 25.

"Greek technical astronomical terms and doctrines has been fully treated," says Dr. Bhau Daji, "by Weber and others." Some of the works and writers to whom he refers are mentioned by name, as the Paulisa Siddhânta, and a "Yavaneswara," whose name, Sphujidhwaja, is thought by Dr. Bhau Daji, to be "a corruption of the Greek name Speusippus."[1]

Varâhamihira is called an astronomer, but it is for astrology that we find him most celebrated; and this is the more interesting, because Mr. Colebrooke considers that the astrology of India was largely borrowed from the astrology of a more western region, this position being "grounded," he observes, "(as the similar inference concerning a different branch of divination) on the semblance of certain terms employed." In confirmation of which idea he cites:—"Astrological prediction, by configuration of planets," which indicates by its "Indian name Hora a Grecian source." Of this word Varâhamihira has attempted a Sanskrit derivation, which is not conformable to Sanskrit etymology; whereas the Greek ὥρα, and its derivative ὡροσκόπος, means "one who considers the natal *hour*, and thence predicts events." Colebrooke gives further evidence to the same effect, and says that Varâhamihira frequently quotes the *Yavanas* in his treatise on horoscopes, and his scholiast characterises ancient Yavanas as a race of barbarians conversant with (hórá) horoscopes."[2]

The Brihat-Sanhitâ includes several distinct branches: as, nativity, named *jâtaka* or *janma*; *yâtra*, prognostics for journeys, and especially for the march of princes in war; *vivâha*, nuptials. In northern India, the last-mentioned branch is at present the only portion much studied. Now that "the palmy days of petty princes are gone," court manuals are no longer needed; but village astrologers are required, as of old, to supply horoscopes for marriages. But although the Brihat-Sanhitâ is at present neglected

[1] J. R. A. S., (New S.), vol. i. p. 409. [2] Colebrooke, Misc. Essays, vol. ii. p. 529.

by the professional soothsayer, it amply repays the labour of a general reader. "Richness in details constitutes the chief attraction of the work,—a merit which was appreciated by the Arab astrologer, Albîrûnî, as it will be by ourselves; for although professedly astrological, "its value for geography, architecture, sculpture, &c., is unequalled by any Sanskrit work as yet published."[1] This promise of instructive and varied detail we shall doubtless find fulfilled, as the translation advances. At present only the first portion is accessible to us.

The following slight notices and extracts will give some idea of Varâhamihira's mode of dealing with his subject.

The English translation commences thus :—

"Victory to the all-soul, the source of life, the inseparable ornament of heaven,—the Sun! who is adorned with a crown of a thousand beams, like unto liquid gold.

"After having studied that which ancient seers have revealed, with infallible truth, I purpose to treat the same in an easy style, and in verses neither too few nor too many.

"Should anyone think that an ancient work as emanating from seers is good, but that a book from a human author is not, (then I fain would ask) what difference does it make in the statement, however different the wording, so long as the thing related remain unchanged?"[2]

In Chapter II. it is declared that an astrologer must be of good family, must have well-proportioned limbs, well-shaped hands, feet, eyes, chin, &c., and a deep, clear voice; for "generally good or bad moral qualities are in unison with the personal appearance." Further, he must be regular in worshipping the gods, and well acquainted with the text and commentary of established works on scientific astronomy and natural horoscopy.

The astrologer is to be guided by observations on the courses and appearances of the sun, moon, and planets, as :—

[1] Kern, Bib. Ind. Intro., p. 27.

[2] The Brihat-Sanhitâ; or Complete System of Natural Astrology of Varâhamihira. Translated from the Sanskrit into English by Dr. H. Kern.

"When Mars has a large, bright surface, and the colour of the flowers of the butea frondosa or of the red asoka . . . . . he brings blessings to kings and satisfaction to their people.[1]

"When the moon appears white as hoar-frost, the jessamine flower, the white water lily or crystal, and looks bright, as though polished, because she knows that at night she will adorn the head of her beloved Siva, she brings happiness to mankind.[2]

"When the sun resembles a banner or a bow, is trembling and rough, battles are at hand. A black line on the luminary, shows that a royal councillor will kill the king."

More significant are the observations on the moon and on eclipses :—

"One half of the moon, whose orbit lies between the sun and the earth, is always bright by the sun's rays; the other half is dark, by its own shadow: like the two sides of a pot standing in the sunshine."[3]

After alluding to the popular notion of Râhu, as a monster which causes eclipse by devouring a portion of the sun or moon, Varâhamihira says :—

"The true explanation of the phenomenon is this: in an eclipse of the moon, he enters into the earth's shadow; in a solar eclipse, the same thing happens to the sun. Hence, the commencement of a lunar eclipse does not take place from the west side, nor that of a solar eclipse from the east."[4]

Eclipses usually portend or cause grief; but if rain, without unusual symptoms, fall within a week after the eclipse, all baneful influences come to nought.

Leaving further observation on the Brihat-Sanhitâ for future opportunity, we will here remark, that the agency of Râhu in causing eclipses was again asserted by Brahmagupta, a noted astronomer, who gives his own date, thus :—[5]

[1] Brihat-Sanhitâ, ch. iv., v. 30.

[2] Ibid, ch. vi., v. 13. This passage is curious, because in Sanskrit the moon is masculine.

[3] Brihat-Sanhitâ, ch. v., v. 8.

[4] Ibid, ch. v., v. 8.

[5] Ibid, v. 96. J.R.A.S, (New Series), vol. i. p. 410. Paper by Dr. Bhau Daji.

"In the reign of Srî Vyâghramukha, of the Srî Chapa dynasty, 550 years after the Saka king (*i.e.*, Sâlivâhana, or A.D. 628), having passed, Brahmagupta, the son of Jishnu, at the age of thirty composed the Brahmagupta-Siddhânta, for the gratification of mathematicians and astronomers:"

showing, that he wrote more than a hundred years later than Aryabhata and nearly a hundred years after Varâhamihira. Mr. Colebrooke says of Brahmagupta, that although he gave rightly the theory of solar and lunar eclipses, and the astronomical principles on which they should be computed, he nevertheless "affirms, in compliance with the prejudices of Hindu bigots, the existence of Râhu as an eighth planet, and as the cause of eclipses; and reprehends Varâhamihira, Aryabhata, &c., for rejecting this orthodox explanation of the phenomenon."[1]

In vol. xx. of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Mr. Spottiswoode has explained the Hindu astronomical methods of calculating eclipses, for those who wish to comprehend their nature, and estimate their real value, "without entering more deeply than necessary into the complexities of either text or commentary." Mr. Spottiswoode tells us that—

"From such observations as they were able to make, the Hindus deduced values for the mean motions of the sun, moon, and planets, supposed to revolve about the earth, and of their apsides and nodes. By means of these values they calculated back to remote epochs, when, according to their data, there would have been a general conjunction of parts or of the entire system."[2]

An outline of the process of calculating an eclipse is also given; but for this, and for a chapter on the mean motion of the planets, we must refer to the Journal.

The respect and interest, which the persevering labour and intelligence of ancient Hindus excites in Mr. Spottiswoode, was further evinced in 1859, when Professor Wilson asked for his

[1] Colebrooke, Misc. Ess., vol. ii. p. 407. [2] J. R. A. S., vol. xx. p. 345.

opinion on a short article by Bâpû Deva Sâstrin, professor of mathematics and astronomy at the Government College of Benares, the object of which was, to show that Bhâskara Achârya, who lived at Ougein (Ujjayinî), in the twelfth century, "was fully acquainted with the principle of the differential calculus," that being the most important discovery of the last century in Europe.

Mr. Spottiswoode answered Professor Wilson's request as follows:—

May 5th, 1859.

My dear Mr. Wilson,

I have read Bâpû Deva Sâstrin's letter on Bhâskarâchârya's mode of determining the instantaneous motion of a planet, with great interest, and think that we are much indebted to him for calling our attention to so important an element in the old Indian methods of calculation. It still, however, seems to me, that he has over-stated the case, in saying that "Bhâskarâchârya was fully acquainted with the principle of the differential calculus." He has undoubtedly conceived the idea of comparing the successive positions of a planet in its path, and of regarding its motion as constant during the interval; and he may be said to have had some rudimentary notion of representing the arc of a curve by means of auxiliary straight lines. But on the other hand, in the method here given, he makes no allusion to one of the most essential features of the differential calculus, viz., the infinitesimal magnitude of the intervals of time and space therein employed. Nor, indeed, is anything specifically said about the fact, that the method is an approximate one.

Nevertheless, with these reservations it must be admitted, that the penetration shown by Bhâskara in his analysis, is in the highest degree remarkable; that the formula which he establishes, ... and his method of establishing it, bear more than a mere resemblance,—they bear a strong analogy,—to the

corresponding process in modern mathematical astronomy; and that the majority of scientific persons will learn with surprise, the existence of such a method in the writings of so distant a period and so remote a region."[1]

It is with a similar feeling of respectful admiration that Mr. Colebrooke alludes to ancient Sanskrit treatises on algebra, arithmetic, and mensuration. "It is not hoped," he says, "that in the actual advanced condition of the analytic art they will add to its resources and throw new light on mathematical science in any other respect than as concerns its history; but," he continues, "had an earlier version of these treatises been completed, had they been translated and given to the public when the notice of mathematicians was first drawn to the attainments of the Hindus in astronomy, and in sciences connected with it, some additions would have been then made to the means and resources of algebra, for the general solution of problems, by methods which have been re-invented or have been perfected in the last age."[2]

Compared with other ancient nations, the Hindus appear to have been peculiarly strong in all the branches of arithmetic. Colebrooke says:—

"They possessed well the arithmetic of surd roots.

"They were aware of the infinite quotient resulting from the division of finite quantities by cipher.

"They knew the general resolution of equations of the second degree, and had touched upon those of higher denomination, resolving them in the simplest cases, and in those in which the solution happens to be practicable by the method which serves for quadratics.

"They had attained a general solution of indeterminate problems of the first degree.

[1] J. R. A. S., vol. xvii., p. 221. [2] Colebrooke, Misc. Ess., vol. ii. p. 419.

"They had arrived at a method for deriving a multitude of solutions of answers to problems of the second degree, from a single answer found tentatively.

"And this," Mr. Colebrooke says in conclusion, was "as near an approach to a general solution of such problems as was made until the days of Lagrange."[1]

Equally decided is the evidence, that this excellence in algebraic analysis was attained in India independent of foreign aid. "No doubt," observes Mr. Colebrooke, "is entertained of the source from which it was received immediately by modern Europe." "The Arabs were mediately or immediately our instructors in this study." But the Arabs, he is aware, were not in general inventors, but recipients. Subsequent observation has confirmed this view; for not only did algebra, in an advanced state, exist in India prior to the earliest disclosure of it by the Arabians to modern Europe, but the names by which the numerals have become known to us are of Sanskrit origin.

The late Mr. James Prinsep observed, in the Bengal Journal for 1837, that "the most ancient mode of denoting number"[2] in India was "by the use of letters in alphabetical order." An early death prevented his completion of these researches, which have been continued by Mr. Thomas. Speaking of tentative explanations by Prinsep, Mr. Thomas says,[3] that "following this guiding suggestion, all succeeding inquirers now concur in the accepted fact, that the early nations of Hindustan, like so many of their modern representatives, defined their higher gradational numbers by express symbols." But if the Arabic numerals were directly derived from the Indian, they "clearly were not at this period evolved out of the imperfect system which is proved to have remained in local currency till a relatively late date."

[1] Colebrooke, Misc. Ess., vol. ii. pp. 416—418.

[2] Prinsep's Ind. Ant. Edited by E. Thomas. Vol. ii. p. 70. *See* also p. 85.

[3] Note, on Indian Numerals.—Journal Asiatique. 1863.

To whatever cyclopædia, journal or essay, we refer, we uniformly find our numerals traced to India, and the Arabs recognised as the medium through which they were introduced to Europe. But whilst the names for the ten numerals are Sanskrit, it has long been known that the word used for "nought," or "cypher," is Arabic. Beyond this it seems impossible, at present, to penetrate. No very early inscription is known which shows the nought so placed as to make the value of the figure dependent on its position. Mr. Thomas well expresses the "present condition of archæological evidence, bearing upon the transition from the ancient numerical symbols to the prototypes of the Arabian cyphers."[1] "The former," he says at the conclusion of his excellent paper, "are found in use up to the fourth century, A.D., while demonstrative *proof* of the employment of the latter cannot be extended higher than the seventh century, A.D."[2] Mr. Thomas warns his readers, that because a certain system of notation was unused in Guzerat it must not be inferred that it was unknown to the more progressive provinces of Hindustan.

The works on algebra to which Mr. Colebrooke draws special attention, are the twelfth and eighteenth chapters of Brahmagupta's treatise on astronomy; and to the Vîjaganitâ and Lîlâvatî of Bhâskara, who wrote at the middle of the twelfth century of the Christian era, A.D. 1150. After this period we are aware of nothing new or interesting to record concerning the astronomy or mathematics of the ancient Hindus. There are astronomical buildings at Benares, Delhi, and Jeypore, which may have "succeeded others of a similar kind, but of much older date." That of Benares, Dr. Royle observes to have been described by Sir

[1] Note, on Indian Numerals. Journal Asiatique. Sixth Series. Vol. ii. p. 379.

[2] For further notice of the modes by which Indian and Arabic numerals became known to Europe, we must refer to the interesting sketch of M. Woepcke's Mémoire sur la Propagation des Chiffres Indiens, which is given us by Professor Max Müller.—Chips, vol. ii. p. 289.

R. Baker, in the Philosophical Transactions for 1775; those of Jeypore and Delhi he has not, he says, seen described; "but at the latter place, the large and lofty, circular, roofless building, or rather wall, pierced with horizontal rows of openings, like windows, would seem as if intended to be employed for the purposes of a horizontal circle."[1]

As a heading to this chapter, we have given a woodcut of the astronomical buildings near Delhi, from Daniell's Antiquities of India, where it is called "Extraordinary Mural Instruments." The steps, which form part of a gnomon, attain a height of 56 feet 9 inches. They cannot have been used like those of Alvery, for marking time, for they are inclosed within walls, and are inaccessible to the rays of the sun.

The Observatory "was built," we learn from Dr. Fitzedward Hall, "by Mânasinha, about A.D. 1600."[2]

But now, within our own generation, we have had the satisfaction of seeing Hindus again avail themselves of the precision of Western science and astronomical instruments; and acknowledge, in consequence, that the earth moves, and not the stars.

The following incident occurred at a meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal:—

Wednesday evening, June 7th, 1837.—Two beautiful silver inkstands were exhibited, presents from Lord Auckland to two native astronomers, who had presented works on this subject to the Governor-General. A letter from Mr. Lancelot Wilkinson, of Bhilsa, to Sir W. H. Macnaghten, was read, explaining that, for eight years, he had tried in vain to convince his friend, Subhaji Bâpû, of the sun's relation to the earth. Then, happening to meet with the old Hindu works, he was able to teach the

[1] Ant. Med., p. 173.

[2] Jey Sing, or "Jayasinha II., who flourished rather more than a century later, provided the Observatory with astronomical instruments. From Raja Mânasinha the building was called, from the first, Mânamandira,—now corrupted into Mânmandil."—Benares, Ancient and Medieval. By Fitzedward Hall, D.C.L., &c.

same from his own acknowledged authorities; and at once conviction was carried to his mind.

Mr. Wilkinson describes Subhaji Bâpû as a man of wonderful acuteness, intelligence, and sound judgment, who was lost in admiration when he came fully to comprehend all the facts resulting from the spherical form of the earth. And when the retrogressions of the planets were shown to be so naturally accounted for, on the theory of the earth's annual motion; and when he reflected on the vastly superior simplicity and credibility of the supposition, that the earth had a diurnal motion, than that the sun and all the stars daily revolve around the earth,—he became a zealous defender of the system of Copernicus.[1] He then lamented that his life had been spent in maintaining foolish fancies, and spoke with bitter indignation against all those of his predecessors who had contributed to the wilful concealment of the truth that once had been acknowledged in the land.

Subhaji Bâpû has since become a distinguished astronomer and professor at the Government college of Benares.

[1] See *ante*, p. 371.

CHAPTER XX.

GRAMMAR AND LEXICOGRAPHY.

The scientific completeness of Sanskrit grammar appeared to Sir William Jones so unaccountable, that he wrote about it with amazed admiration. Further knowledge of Vedic literature and Vedic belief has explained the phenomenon, by revealing that grammar formed part of that great religious system with which ancient India is identified. Grammar was cultivated because, like astronomy, it was indispensable to religious observances. To ascertain the correct time for performing a given sacrifice, it was necessary to watch the movements of the moon and stars; and Hindus became astronomers. In like manner, because the success of sacrifice depended upon the correct recitation and understanding of the *mantras,* Hindus devoted themselves to the study of words. Even in the earliest times, it was believed that the object of a sacrifice could not be obtained unless the sacrificer had a full knowledge of the sense of the hymns which he recited; and that for this it was necessary to know the import of each word of which they consisted. With the growth of the Hindu people this doctrine also grew, and gathered strength, and consequently, the highest religious importance became attached

to words; and the study of words was thus ranked as a religious act, indispensable for the attainment of the highest aim of man.

The Veda was regarded by orthodox Hindus as a sacrificial instrument, and to increase the efficacy of this holy instrument, or apparatus, they early gathered around it six sciences, called Vedângas. Of these, we will at present only mention those with which we are immediately concerned, viz., Vyâkarana and Sikshâ. To a European, each of these Vedângas might appear to be grammar.

The object of Sikshâ is to treat of letters, to arrange them according to their organs of pronunciation, to teach the quantity of sounds, their accents, and to treat of all which concerns utterance or delivery. Yet that which to the Hindu mind emphatically is grammar is not Sikshâ, but Vyâkarana. The literal meaning of this word is, "*undoing*" or analysis. It does not mean the explaining the import attached to a certain word when forming part of a certain sentence; but it shows how the word acquired its sense, and how its particular linguistic form became possessed of it. Vyâkarana was, therefore, not merely grammar in the lower acceptation of being an explanation of declension, conjugation and other grammatical forms; but was, from its commencement, scientific grammar, or grammatical science in the highest sense which can be attached to this term.[1]

Vyâkarana thus boldly faces the difficult subject of certain theoretical forms, which, to the popular understanding, were linguistic roots,—the so-called dhâtus. It shows how such dhâtus become verbal and nominal bases, how verbal bases become inflected verbs, and how nominal bases become inflected nouns. Vyâkarana further shows that in Sanskrit, by a regular association of ideas, a primary dhâtu can develop into a secondary form, implying notions of passivity, intensity, desire, and causality; and that verbal and nominal bases can again be derived from

[1] Goldstücker's Pânini, p. 196 ff.

these secondary forms. And further still, it shows that nominal bases may be derived from primary dhâtus, from their secondary forms, or from nominal bases which are themselves derived from such dhâtus. And thus it arrives at two distinct categories of nominal affixes, according to the bases from which the nouns were formed. The one category of such affixes is that which it calls Krit, and the other that which it calls the Taddhita affixes.

And lastly, Vyâkarana teaches that nouns, whether primary or secondary, may form compound ideas, and that such ideas may be classified under four categories of compounds, one of which comprises three subdivisions.

This subject is so intensely interesting, that we much regret being unable to gather more or to give more than the most general notions of the interesting problems, in the solution of which Hindu grammarians have been engaged from time immemorial. Sanskrit grammar is, evidently, far superior to the kind of grammar which for the most part has contented grammarians in Europe; and having been induced and fostered by religious aspiration, it took such firm root in the Hindu mind that century after century it maintained its hold, and originated works which are unrivalled in the literary history of other nations.

The third Vedânga, as we have seen, is Nirukta, a word which means exegesis, and exegesis being impossible without analysis, Nirukta and Vyâkarana might be expected to have kindred interests. There is, however, this great difference between them: in the Nirukta the chief aim is the interpretation of a sentence, and words are analysed by this Vedânga only where necessary to the interpretation of the sentence; whereas, in the Vyâkarana, no notice being taken of the import of a sentence as a whole, the grammatical nature of each word, and the meanings which have grown out of it, are in themselves the object of the investigation.

Another difference between these two Vedângas is, that in the Nirukta, grammatical problems are not investigated for the sake

of grammar as such, and are not, as in the Vyâkarana, made to assist in the framing of a grammatical system; but if occasionally such questions as the nature of prefixes and prepositions are introduced, they are dealt with as it were incidentally, and only by way of introducing other matter, in which Nirukta is more especially concerned.

A further distinction between these Vedângas may be marked by the extent to which they severally admit the possibility of the derivation of nouns from verbal roots. And here also it is observed, that although the two Vedângas agree on many points, it is only in the Vyâkarana that the question develops into scientific grammar.

But now, before attempting further to explain the precise character of Sanskrit grammar, it seems desirable to point out a special difference between European and Sanskrit grammar. In European languages, if grammar attempts to reduce a word to its last limit, it calls such a limit its "root," and a "root"[1] in grammar thus answers to an "element" in chemistry, representing the farthest result of analysis attainable by the analyser; but in Sanskrit grammar,—dhâtu, though generally translated root, does not imply that which is expressed by the European term. The former designates that theoretical form from which, by conjugational affixes, verbal bases, and by krit affixes, nominal bases may be derived. Yet, as such derivations may not only be made from those forms which have been collected in lists, called Dhâtupâtha, and may be called primary dhâtus, but also from those derivative forms,—the passives, intensives, causals, desideratives, and denominatives;—even these derivative forms are, to the Hindu grammarian, *dhâtus*. To his mind, a *dhâtu* is, therefore, not an absolutely last linguistic element; but even a primary dhâtu, or that form from which passive and other secondary dhâtus could be derived, is to him only that form

[1] Müller, A. S. L., p. 166 ff. Goldstücker's Pânini, p. 220 ff.

which, to the *popular* understanding, appeared to be a last limit of derivation. His object was thus not to lay down the result of what individual learning or scholarship might look upon as linguistic elements, from which verbs and nouns arose, but to collect the evidence of what the popular mind itself considered as such.

To ignore this difference between dhâtu and root would lead to a misconception of Hindu grammar in one of its cardinal points; and we have, therefore, been glad to avail ourselves of the explanation given above for the purpose of removing a misunderstanding, not always absent from our popular linguistic books.

Another point on which the European system of grammar is observed to differ from that of the ancient Hindu system is, that from its association with Greek and scholastic philosophy, it bears a far stronger impress of philosophical theories than the latter. It divides language into parts of speech, and views it from the philosophical point of view out of which this division arose. The Hindu system, on the other hand, merely considers the grammatical *form* and *properties* of a word, and gives as it were a *natural history* of speech, without considering whether or not such natural properties belong to separate parts of speech. Affixes, for instances, by which verbs are derived, have naturally to be dealt with under different heads from the affixes by which nouns are derived; and thus as it were a grammatical history of conjugation and declension is obtained. But as conjugation and declension exhibit likewise phenomena which cannot be explained by the mere adding of an affix to a *dhâtu* or a nominal base,—such as the lengthening and shortening of vowels, and other affections of both vowels and consonants,—the consequence of such complication is, that no single chapter in Vyâkarana gives a complete exposition of conjugation and declension, such as would be found in a European grammar.

An opinion of the comparative merits of the two systems will

not be here expected; but we are assured, that although the European method of teaching grammar may be more convenient for the routine of students, the Hindu system has the advantage of guarding against preconceived grammatical theories, founded on mere speculation; and that even its artificial and technical contrivances stimulate the powers of combination to an extent which allows its influence to be compared to that of the study of mathematics.

That a science based on religion, and studied with enthusiasm from the earliest periods of ancient India, should have produced a widely-spread and important literature, might be anticipated. Whilst some who first worked in this field of literature left nothing but their names, the celebrated Pânini bequeathed to posterity one of the oldest and most renowned books ever written in any language. The work of Pânini is believed to be *the* Vedânga, which is called Vyâkarana; and it is in all probability the only work which has dealt with this subject in that exhaustive and masterly mode which led to its being attributed to inspiration.

Of Pânini's personal history nothing is known, except that he was a native of Salâtura, to the north-west of Attock, on the Indus, and that his mother was called Dâkshî,—showing, that on his mother's side he was descended from the celebrated family of Daksha. Professor Goldstücker considers it very probable that Pânini lived previous to Sâkyamuni, the founder of the Buddhist religion, whose death took place about 543 B.C., but that in the actual state of Sanskrit philology it is impossible to obtain an exact date of his life. "The rules of Pânini were criticised and completed by Kâtyâyana, who, according to all probability, was the teacher, and therefore the contemporary of Patanjali."[1] Kâtyâyana, in his turn, was criticised by Patanjali;

[1] Chambers' Encyclopædia. For the literature connected with Pânini, *see* Preface to Colebrooke's Grammar of the Sanskrit Language, and Goldstücker's Pânini.

and these three sages are "the canonical triad of the grammarians of India." Their works are so remarkable, that "in their own department" they are said to exceed in merit nearly all, if not all, grammatical productions of other nations." The best running commentary on Pânini is that called the Kâsikâvritti, by Vâmana Jayâditya.

Besides the Vyâkarana, the Vedânga called Sikshâ is also attributed to Pânini, and in addition to these grammatical works there are some writings called Prâtisâkhyas, which have the appearance of being grammatical, and have been supposed to be older than the work of the great grammarian; but these Prâtisâkhyas deal merely with ready-made words as they occur in the Veda, and their main object is to record Vedic peculiarities in order to ensure the safety of Vedic texts. And it is observed, that the very fact of their doing this more fully and more completely than Pânini, is one kind of evidence that they were later than Pânini, whose work claims to be as much a grammar of the Vedic as of the classical Sanskrit. Other internal evidence is afforded by the fact, that in the Prâtisâkhyas the existence of Vyâkarana is pre-supposed, without which they would be unintelligible; and that although the object of these treatises is not grammatical, their authors are observed occasionally to yield to the temptation of giving an opinion on grammar, apparently, in order to correct or modify rules laid down by Pânini. It may further be added, that the Prâtisâkhyas are never allowed in Sanskrit literature to be Vedângas; whereas Pânini's work is invariably ranked as one of those supplementary Vedic productions.

In more recent periods, some attempts have been made in India to fashion new systems of grammar with a terminology differing from that of Pânini; but their success has been only partial, and on the whole of so little durability, that the system and terminology of Pânini is paramount even in the present day.

The most important grammarians of such new schools are Hemachandra and Vopadeva. But the system of the former is as yet only known through references made to it by Hemachandra himself in some of his other works, particularly in a renowned commentary of his on dhâtus (the Dhâtu-Pârâyana). Vopadeva was a grammarian of considerable fame, especially in his native country, Bengal. His work was so fortunate as to have an excellent commentator in Durgadâsa; and we are told, that whilst in itself Vopadeva's grammar would be quite insufficient for a thorough attainment of classical Sanskrit, yet when supplemented by Durgadâsa's commentary, it becomes worthy of study as a learned contribution to the literature of Sanskrit grammar.

Lexicography.

Before entering upon this department of philology, it must be borne in mind that Hindus do not understand by a lexicon such a dictionary as European philologists would require. A Sanskrit lexicon is not strictly an alphabetical arrangement of words with their various meanings. Nor when a Sanskrit lexicographer gives various meanings, does he arrange them in the logical or historical sequence expected in a scientific European dictionary. Nor, again, was it from the lexicographer that Hindus expected etymologies of words: that task devolved upon grammarians, or was performed by the commentators on Sanskrit vocabularies. But although vocabularies, these works are ranked by Sanskrit scholars not only as works of merit, but as works indispensable for the attainment of a thorough and complete knowledge of the Sanskrit language. Sanskrit lexicons or vocabularies are characterized by the purpose for which they are written; and this is a point of especial interest to those who are not studying philology, but who are endeavour-

ing to obtain correct and familiar knowledge of national Hindu character. The purpose aimed at in these vocabularies is, in fact, different from that proposed by the dictionaries of Europe. The type of a Sanskrit native lexicon is a vocabulary consisting of two parts: the one, exhibiting synonymous words for the same idea; the other, explaining the many meanings which attach to single words. Thus, in the first part of such a work will be found synonyms for heaven, God (or different gods), for planets, stars, time, and divisions of time; for crime, virtue, language, sound, earth, hell, water, &c. And in its second part, certain words, assumed to be words of peculiar importance, are singled out and explained.

The first parts are, therefore, dictionaries of synonyms, and although the product of Sanskrit science in its earliest period, are works unequalled in any contemporary literature. These synonyms are not arranged alphabetically, and the order in which the ideas are marshalled is more or less arbitrary; but nevertheless, a certain kind of systematic arrangement may be detected, and unconscious hints are given of the manner and the order in which various objects of the visible world, and of the invisible world, presented themselves to the Hindu mind.

In the second part of such a lexicon, where single words with various meanings are placed in sequence, some sort of alphabetical arrangement is observed. This usually consists in classifying them according to their final consonants, final vowels not being taken into account. But some lexicographers even take a further step; for after having classed words according to their final consonants alike, they further arrange these in the order of the alphabet according to their initial sounds. This is not affected with the strict accuracy of a European dictionary, but in a mode which, on the whole, suffices for the discovery of a word without much inconvenience or loss of time. Some rare and exceptional cases occur, in which the author has arranged the

second part of his dictionary merely according to initial sounds, without regarding their final consonants. And again, we are told of lexicographical whims which induced authors to arrange words neither according to their final nor their initial sounds, but solely with reference to the space which his explanations would occupy. Thus, words with their meanings and the author's explanatory additions might occupy the fourth part, or the half, or the whole of a sloka, *i.e.*, eight, sixteen, or thirty-two syllables or more, and be classified accordingly.

We have now described the *type* of a classical Hindu dictionary, but without considering the greater or less completeness with which it treats the subject-matter of its two distinctive parts. There was, and we might say there could not fail to be, considerable differences between the various works of this category. For, in addition to individual differences in their authors, it must be remembered that the books were written at various periods, and had to satisfy the demands peculiar to each period; some words having acquired greater importance and others having become less interesting to certain men and at certain eras.

In addition to these types of Sanskrit vocabularies, there are vocabularies which may be called supplementary, being intended to complete that which was done by their predecessors. Some of these works deal with the synonyms of the first part, but more usually they are devoted to the homonyms of the second part, and only intended, therefore, to supplement previous works which have already given the synonyms.

As in other Hindu sciences, so also in Hindu lexicography, all which refers to exterior arrangement is regulated by reference to tradition and custom. As a rule, therefore, the first part of a native vocabulary which contains synonyms must be followed by a second part containing homonyms; but this second part has sometimes a supplementary character, and in this case it

may form an independent work, quite separate from the chapter of synonyms which it usually precedes.

The first trace of lexicography in Sanskrit occurs during the Vedic period, when lists of words collected by Yâska were given in a work called Nighantu. This Nighantu was the precursor of the Nirukta, which is another work by Yâska; and one of such importance as an exegetical work, that it became one of the Vedângas. Yâska's lists are distributed over five short chapters, the first three of which contain synonyms, whilst the last two merely enumerate words without giving their meanings. Amongst the synonyms are words denoting earth, sky, ray of light, regions, night, dawn, speech, sacrifice, &c.; but also verbs, expressing, for instance, such notions as shining, eating, being angry, moving.

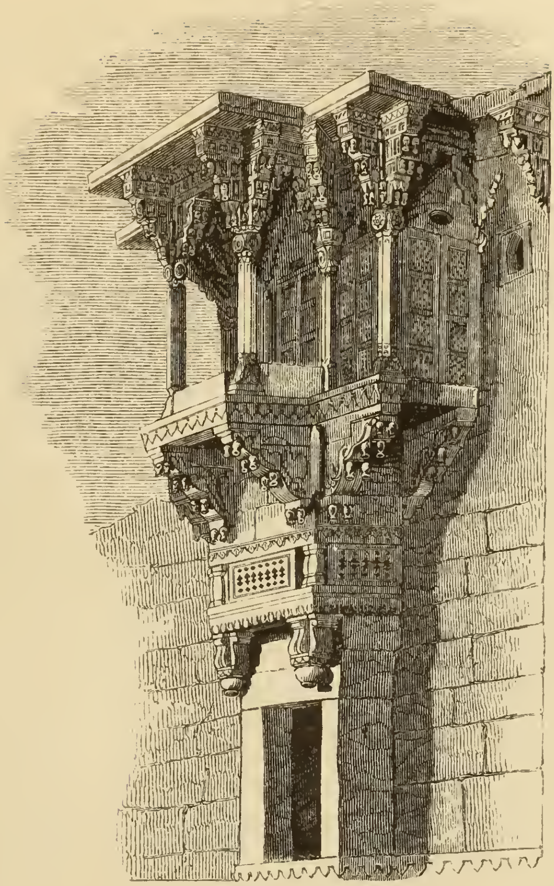
Yâska's vocabulary may thus be regarded as the germ from which two important classes of works developed: the one, the class with which we were concerned when treating of grammar; the other, that with which we have just been dealing.[1]

The former is the Dhâtupâtha, or list of dhâtus, which we observed are generally but inaccurately called verbal roots. The second class are the Koshas, or vocabularies, of which we have just been considering the characteristic features. The oldest Kosha is the Amarakosha, which was composed by Amarasinha, an author who probably did not live later than the third century after Christ. The Amarakosha was supplemented by several works, of which the Trikândasesha of Purushottama, and the Sabdaratnâvalî of Mathuresa, are the most conspicuous. Another Kosha which lays claim to antiquity, is the Abhidhânaratnamâlâ of Halâyudha; and of later works, the Bhûriprayoga of Padmanâthadatta, and the Haimakosha, or Kosha of Hemachandra, may be mentioned. Hemachandra gave to the first part of his work, which treats on synonyms, the name of Abhidhânachin-

[1] See *ante*, p. 381.

tâmani; the latter part of his work was supplemented by the Viswaprakâsa of Maheswara.

For further details, see Colebrooke's Essays, vol. i. p. 50 ff.; and Professor Wilson's Preface to the first edition of his Dictionary, also edited by Dr. Rost, with valuable notes, in Wilson's Works, vol. v., p. 158 ff.



" The bracket is almost exclusively an original Indian form of capital."—FERGUSSON, HIST. ARCHI., vol. ii. p. 604.

CHAPTER XXI.

No temples mentioned in the earliest Sanskrit literature.—Cities and palaces in poems and dramas.—Extant Buddhist monuments, B.C. 250.—*Sanskrit works on architecture.—Dravidian architecture,* A.D. 857, *described.—Sanskrit works.—Râm Râz.—Northern Hindu style, from seventh century,* A.D.—*Ellora and Elephanta.—Temples in Rajputana.—Remarks on ethnology.*

THE ancient architecture of India is so amazing, that the first European observers could not find terms sufficiently intense to express their wonder and admiration; and although the vivid-

ness of such emotions subsides on more intimate acquaintance, the most sober critics still allow that it is both wonderful and beautiful.

Although we can, however, energetically praise the "ancient architecture of India," we cannot speak of the "architecture of ancient India" without explanation. The older Sanskrit literature does not, apparently, recognise it as a sacred art, and does not therefore give any treatise on the subject. The religion of the Vedas did not require temples. Each dwelling was furnished with a room for sacred fire, and when fresh fire was to be generated for a grand ceremonial, we read of a certain space being enclosed for the purpose,—such places of worship duly arranged, whether covered or uncovered, being occasional and temporary. Some preparation of this kind may be seen in the picture from Ajanta,[1] which represents the coronation of the king who had conquered Ceylon. The horse is presented for sacrifice, before which divine object worshippers fall prostrate. Below this group there is a line of posts or pillars, reminding one that in the Rig-Veda the rays of light which rise up in the east at day-break are by one poet compared to the "pillars planted at sacrifices;"[2] whilst another desires that "the posts which devout men have cut down, ... arranged in bright (garments) . . . . . ranging in rows like swans . . . . . entire in all parts and girded with rings . . . . ." may be a protection in battle. This scene is undoubtedly in the open air, as we believe was the sacrifice on the plains of Kurukshetra, with the description of which the great poem of the Mahâbhârata commences.[3]

Asramas or Hermitagas are mentioned in the code of Manu, as also in the poems; but these abodes of learned ascetics and pupils were apparently mere collections of rustic huts. The description of the town of Ayodhyâ in the Râmâyana is, perhaps,

[1] The same custom being apparently continued even in the seventh century, A.D. *Ante*, p. 88.

[2] Wilson's trans., vol. iii. p. 215; Rig-Veda, iv. 52.

[3] Ibid, vol. iii. p. 5; R. V. iii. 8.



From a fresco, in Cave 17, at Ajanta.

the oldest record of positive building to be found in Sanskrit: "the houses formed one continual row of equal height, ... and it was beautified with gardens and with gates." Nothing is said of temples. When the old king of Ayodhyâ prepared to inaugurate his son, Râma, as vice-king, the spy of the envious step-mother looks out from an upper window or balcony, and tells her what passes in the streets. In the story of Nala and Damayantî, the abodes of kings are more fully described. The lofty balcony or belvedere, from which distant travellers are seen, is never omitted. In the dramas we have towns and streets, and a beautiful dwelling-house, where "the top of the gate is lofty, and gives one the pleasure of looking up to the clouds." The first court is surrounded by dwellings, "white as the moon," and "golden steps set with coloured stones lead to the upper chambers." In the second court are the stables, with carriage-oxen, fighting-rams, and a monkey. The third and the fourth courts are devoted to amusements. The sixth court, in which jewellers are working, is entered by an arched gateway of gold and gems. The seventh and last court contains an aviary, and opens into a lovely garden. We also read in the dramas of courts of justice and of temples; but the garden in which the shrine was placed served, apparently, as a temple, or, at all events, was more notable than any building. We must not forget the splendid pavilions erected for sports and tournaments, described in the Mahâbhârata; but these were but temporary, however glittering. We understand, however, that in untranslated passages of the same poem, palaces are described, which were substantial and intended to be permanent. Nevertheless, there are no architectural remains of the classic Sanskrit period; and no discovery more startled our first Orientalists than the comparatively recent date of the primæval, pre-historic, stupendous, and mysterious caves and temples for which India had become celebrated.

The most famous are the rock-cut caves in western India; they are cut out of the Amygdaloid hills, this mode of architec-

ture being apparently a fashion introduced by Buddhists. It has the signal advantage of protecting the work of architect and sculptor from the three-fold destruction caused by insects, rain, and vegetation.

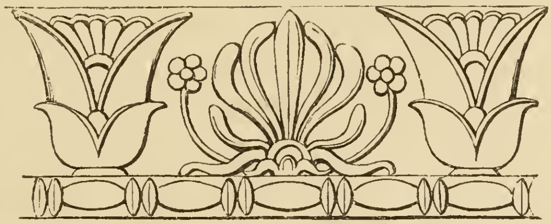
Buddhist Architecture.

We explained in the Introduction to this volume that Buddhism was a religious revolt which struggled with Brahmanism for about a thousand years. It was then defeated and expelled, and left no sign except its architecture. One of the main principles of Buddhism was the equality of all mankind; consequently, arrangements previously required for a few Brahmans, were, under Buddhism, needed for multitudes. And another effect of the doctrine of equality was, that if an unprivileged foreigner or *nishâda* knew how to build better than men wearing the sacred thread, Buddhism had no law against employing the foreigner or low-born man of genius. Buddhism had also within itself peculiarities, which demanded architecture peculiar to itself. Unlike the Vedic Hindus who worshipped the appearances of Nature, as symbols of unseen deity, the Buddhists worshipped memorials of their teacher and ultimately his sculptured image.

There is much in the history of Buddhism which requires elucidation. We do not know what first induced Buddhists to excavate rather than to build, and we cannot distinctly trace the connection to which architecture is supposed to point,—between Buddhists, Persepolitans, Assyrians, Greeks, and people in India of apparently an older race than the Aryan Hindus.[1] Then, again, we long to know whence came the church-like form of the Buddhist Chaitya Temple. And whilst awaiting further in-

[1] Alexander the Great left Greek and other foreign artists in India, about the year B.C. 326; and sculptures found in Kashmere, and coins struck in mints established on the Indus, give undoubted signs of Greek influence at dates somewhat earlier than our own era; whilst no Buddhist monument claims to be earlier than abont B.C. 247.

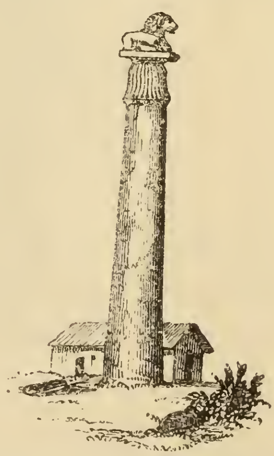
formation, we must rest on the comprehensive facts that Buddhists did not honour caste, but welcomed converts of all ranks and of every race; and that whilst their earliest columns are encircled



From a pillar at Allahabad. J. Prinsep, J. A. S. B., vol. iv.

by what is called the honeysuckle and lotus of Assyria, the stone circles around some of their shrines remind us of the fashions of ruder races, aboriginal in parts of India.

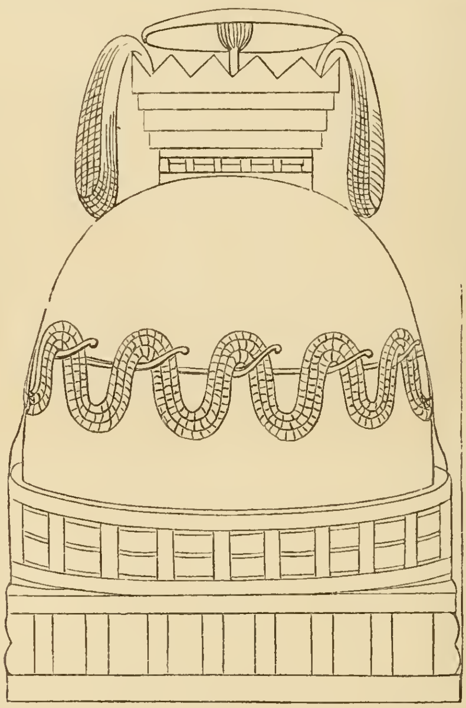
The oldest known architectural antiquities are the numerous pillars upon which King Asoka proclaimed those benevolent desires for his people which were suggested apparently by his conversion to Buddhism. The pillar at Allahabad, on which the edicts are inscribed, is a single stone, 42 ft. 7 in. in height. The lower portion of the pillar is devoid of carving, and was intended probably to be sunk in the ground. The shaft is three feet in diameter at the base, diminishing to two feet at the summit. Immediately below the capital occurs the honeysuckle and lotus wreath. At Allahabad, the capital itself has been lost; but in Tirhut there are two of these pillars, surmounted by lions, one of which has a border of sacred geese in place of the so-called honeysuckle. The lion pillar, here figured, is from the rough etching given by Mr. James Prinsep, in his Bengal Journal for 1837. It stands at Bakri, in Tirhut. A beautiful and finished representation of the same



Lion-pillar, from Bakri, in Tirhut.

object may be seen in the second volume of Fergusson's History of Architecture, p. 459, wood-cut 969.

Sinha, lion, is one of the names given to Buddha by those who chronicled his life. He was Sâkya-Sinha, the lion of the Sâkya tribe. He is often also called Sâkya-Muni,—muni being an epithet something equivalent to our title of professor. Sometimes the pillars are surmounted by an elephant in place of the lion; and the reason for this, likewise, must be sought for in Buddhist legend. The Queen's favourite elephant rubbed her side previous to the birth of the child who became Buddha; and this was thought to indicate his future greatness. But King Asoka not only promulgated edicts,—he raised topes or dagobas

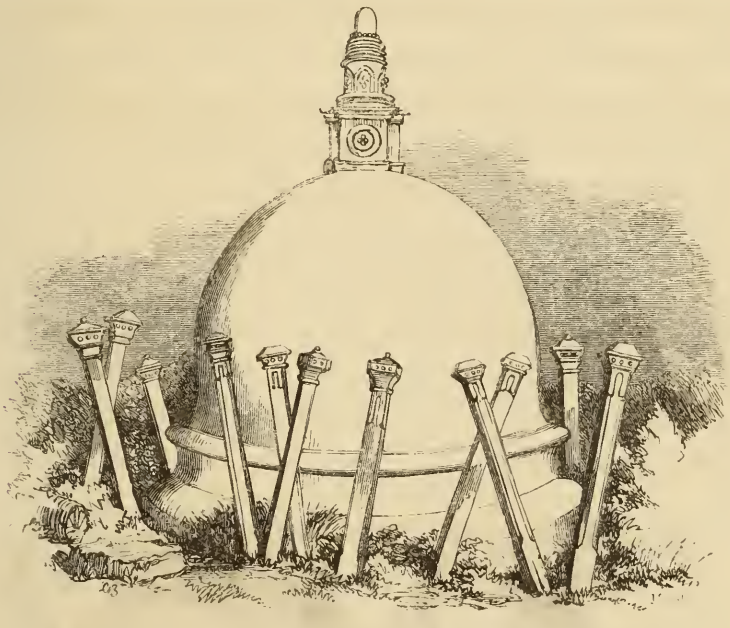


Tope, with festoons of flowers, Sanchi.—Maisey.

(huge mounds of brick and stone) to mark his reverence for Buddha. And here we must allude to the fact, that not until the year 1837, in which Mr. James Prinsep decyphered the written character of King Asoka's edicts, was anything known

of the Buddhism of Ancient India. Then first was it understood when, and by whom, and for what purpose, pillars and mounds had been erected, or cut from out of the rock. As far as I know, they are not alluded to in Sanskrit literature, but intrude suddenly, as fashions introduced by Buddhists.

For a full description of such monuments we must refer to Mr. Fergusson's History of Architecture. Topes or dagobas are essentially mounds, but the more notable specimens are mounds constructed of brick or stone,[1] and are invariably surmounted by



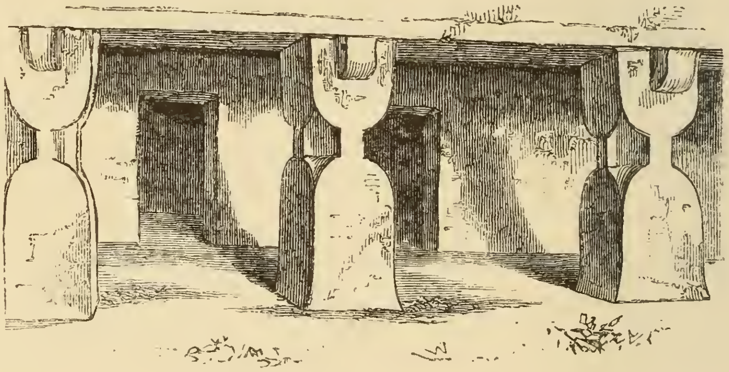
Lankârâma Tope, to the north of Anurâdhapura, in Ceylon.
Drawing, by Capt. J. J. Chapman, R.A.

what is known in archæology as a tee. This was originally a kind of chest, wherein to place relics. It is covered by a lid of three slabs, and should be crowned by one or more state umbrellas.

[1] Properly speaking, the tumulus containing a relic ought always to be designated "dagoba," a word derived from *dhâtu*, a relic, and *garbha*, literally the womb, but here used as the receptacle or enclosing shrine. The memorial tower ought, on the contrary, always to be called "stûpa," from the Sanskrit word *stûpa*, a cairn or heap. The difficulty in applying these terms is, that there are no external signs by which the two can be distinguished; and, till the contents of all are ascertained, any attempt at precision might only lead to errors. —Fergusson, Tree and Serpent Worship, p. 87, *note*.

The tope figured above is from a drawing by Lieut. Maisey. It has but one umbrella, and of that the stick is too short for architectural effect. Models of topes a few inches high were found, amongst other treasures, in the topes opened at Manikyâla and Sultanpore, in the Punjab.[1]

We give one more view of a dagoba or tope in order to show the surrounding pillars. It is from a drawing made on the spot by the late Captain J. Chapman,[2] F.R.S., of the Royal Artillery. Mr. Fergusson[3] observes, that "in pre-historic times the tumulus or tomb was the principal form of architectural development and the object of special veneration, not only in northern and western Asia, but in Etruria, and as far west as the British isles—wherever, indeed, ancestral worship was the prevailing form of religious belief. In India, the Buddhists conformed to the long-established practice of burning the dead, and the tomb became not the receptacle of a body, but of a relic." In conclusion, he says that no one can doubt that "the tope is the lineal descendant of the tumulus." Nor can we doubt but that the same feeling which placed great stones around the tumulus, planted circles of pillars around the tope or dagoba.



Verandah of a Cave, Cuttack.

The earliest form of Buddhist religious dwellings was very

[1] Wilson's Ariana Antiqua.

[2] Remarks on the City of Anurâdhapura, by Capt. J. J. Chapman. J.R.A.S., vol. xiii.

[3] Fergusson, Hist. Archi., vol. ii. p. 477.

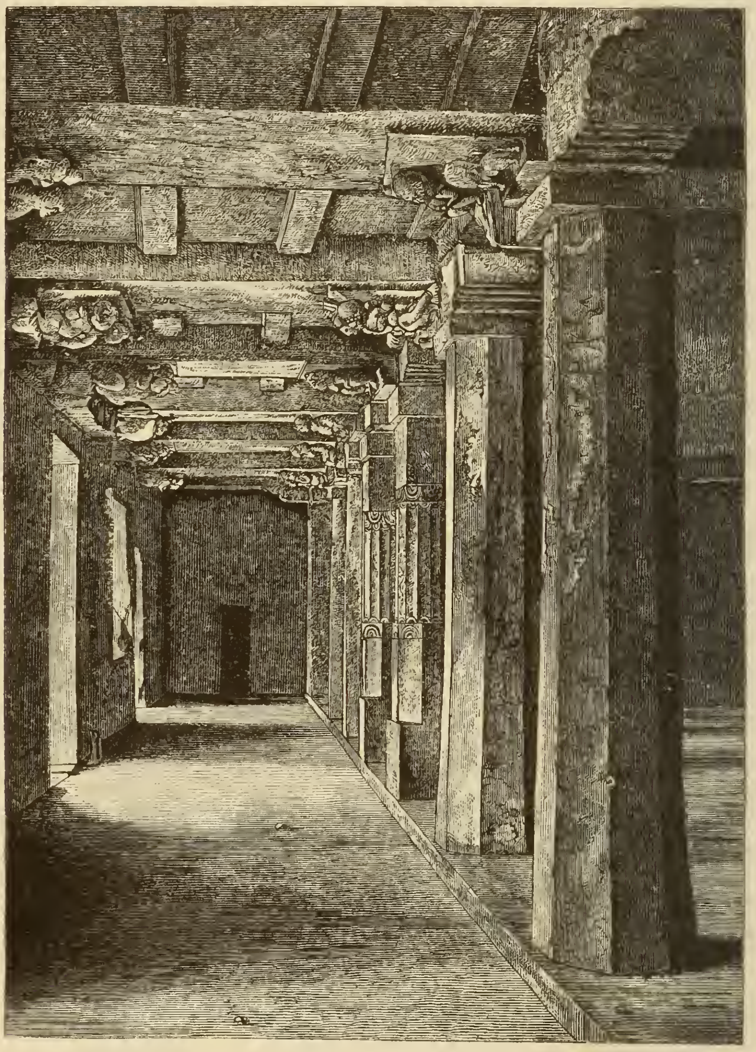
simple; merely a porch or verandah, with cells within. The sketch above is from one made by Capt. Kittoe, in the Udayagiri hill of Cuttack.[1] Some of the early caves have a single cell thirty feet long, or perhaps a verandah supported by several pillars opens into many cells; but we find no sanctuary or object of worship until we arrive at a third subdivision of vihâra caves, when Mr. Fergusson observes that the enlargement of the hall brings the necessity of its being supported by pillars; and "then besides the cells that surround the hall, there is always a deep recess facing the entrance, in which is generally placed a statue of Buddha," thus fitting the cave for worship. "At Baug, the statue of Buddha is replaced by the dagoba;" but this appears to be the only instance of a dagoba intruding into a vihâra. By far the greater number of Buddhist caves belong to this third description of vihâras. They are verandahs, halls, and cells, for the residence of devotees. The finest vihâras are found at Ajanta, in a ravine in the hills below the river Tapty, rather to the north of Bombay. In this ravine, somewhere about the first century of our era, Buddhists began to excavate architectural caves. There are twenty-six in all, and of these, twenty-two are vihâras or conventual abodes, whilst the remaining four are Chaitya halls or places of worship. That there are no structures equally old, does not prove that structures were not simultaneously in vogue; for Mr. Fergusson continually points out that the excavations imitate *wooden* forms, previously in use; and it is well known that wood-work exposed to the atmosphere in India quickly perishes.[2]

No vihâra caves at Ajanta appear to be finer than those which Mr. Fergusson reckons as Nos. 16 and 17. The date is probably the sixth century after Christ. An inscription on the right of the verandah of No. 16 has been partially decyphered by Dr. Bhau

[1] Journal of a Tour in Orissa, J.A.S.B., vol. vi. p. 682.

[2] The gateways of Sanchi are suspected of being as old, whilst the Sanchi rail is older than the Ajanta caves. The wood-work at Karli is, I am reminded, eighteen hundred years old, *but* it is under cover.

Daji, of Bombay. It expresses obeisance to the great Muni, meaning Buddha; and makes record of the kings and princes whose charitable gift was this jewel-temple or vihâra. No. 17

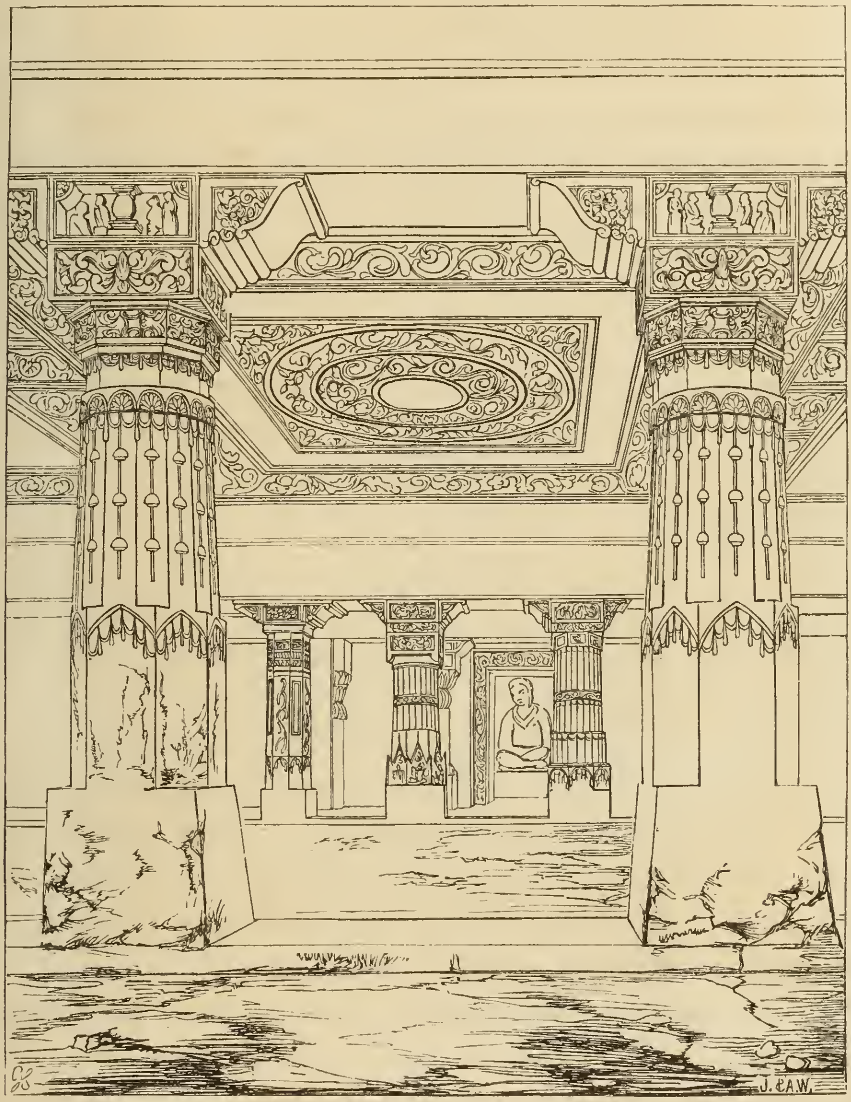


Colonnade in Vihâra, Cave No. 16, at Ajanta.

is also called "the zodiac cave," from containing at the left-end of the verandah a circular piece of painting, divided into eight compartments, by radii from the centre; but it has been much injured, by visitors attempting to remove parts from the wall.[1]

[1] J. Burgess, F. R. G. S. Reprinted from The Times of India, 1868.

The view which we give of an aisle in the large central hall, illustrates some of Mr. Fergusson's interesting remarks on the pillars, so characteristic of Hindu architecture. He calls atten-



Centre of Vihâra Hall, Cave No. 17, at Ajanta.

tion to the custom of reducing the square form to the octagonal in the centre; or sometimes the eight sides are changed to sixteen; then a circular form is introduced, and the pillar returns through the octagon to the square which supports the bracket.

The brackets above are "fat boys," but more often they are floral scrolls; and the earliest examples are of wooden ornaments repeated in stone. This important and characteristic feature of Hindu pillars is very varied, and "forms," Mr. Fergusson observes, "a fitting termination to pillars in which ornament is distributed over the whole surface," not as in Grecian and Roman architecture, confined to the base and capital. And thus treated, pillars "give singular richness," and are peculiarly "effective for internal architecture." The caves are remarkable, also, for the use of stucco and paint, not merely on the walls, but on the roof and pillars. And the frets and scrolls (signs of which may be seen in our view of the centre of the Vihâra Hall Cave, No. 17) are of such "beauty and elegance as to rival those at Pompeii and the Baths of Titus."[1] In later times, it became the custom to carve in relief ornaments which had previously been painted.

The view given above shows the centre of a vihâra hall. Thirty-six feet seven inches, each way, is mentioned as the dimension of the oldest at Ajanta. In structural temples the size may have been greater. The view here figured of the interior of No. 17 is from the entrance, and looks towards the dagoba. The earliest and simplest vihâra caves we noted as containing no object of worship, but the complete or matured vihâra hall is almost invariably furnished with the Buddhist symbol. It is often placed in a recess, and the latest examples sometimes exhibit a figure of Buddha in front of the dagoba.

In the picture given at Ajanta we may possibly have the first preaching of Buddhism at Ceylon, with the King sitting in a pillared portico or palace. The missionary sits at his feet, and a number of persons press in at the back. The chronicle relates that the Princess Annulâ and her five hundred women, being desirous to hear this preaching, the King ordered the stables

[1] Fergusson, Hist. Archi., vol. ii. pp. 499–501.



From a fresco at Ajanta.

to be purified and made ready; and this scene appears to be represented in the right-hand corner of the picture, just above the previous scene, in which men alone are present.

The kind of temple in which Sâkya-Sinha, or Buddha himself, was supposed to have taught, may be conjectured from the sketch



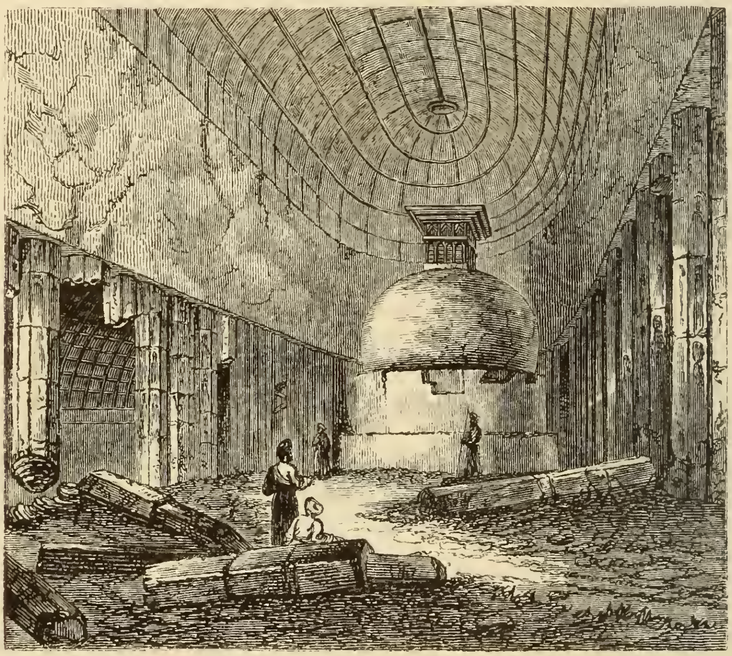
Picture from Vihâra Cave, at Ajanta.

here given, although it must be remembered that the picture was painted one thousand years after Buddha's death.

Preaching forms no part of a Brahmanical religious service, but is a custom followed to this day by Buddhists, as may be seen by a reference to Mr. Gogerly's article on Buddhism, in the first volume of the "Ceylon Friend."

Vihâras we have observed coming gradually to perfection in India, but the case is different with Buddhist chaitya halls. "These," Mr. Fergusson says, "are the temples, or if I may

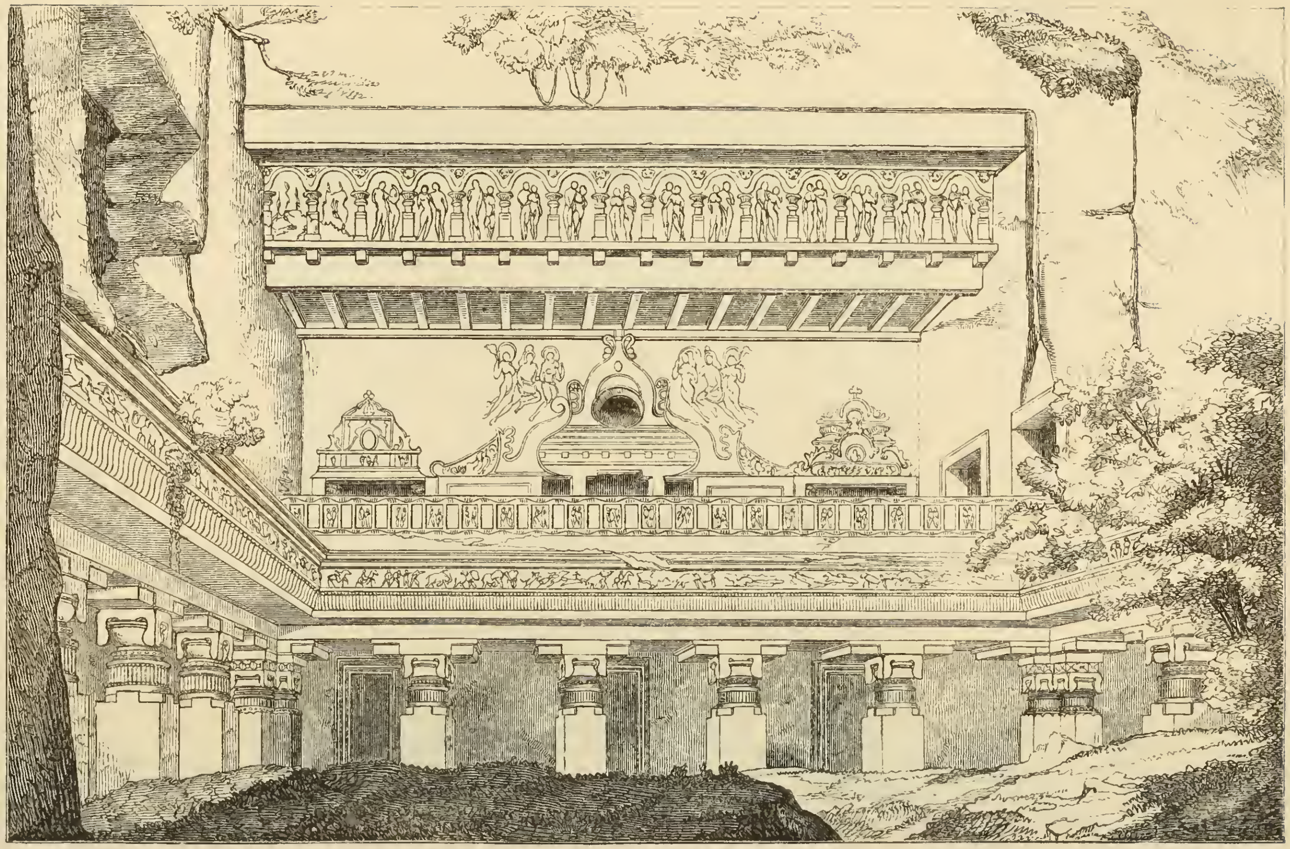
use the expression, the churches[1] of the series, and one or more of them is attached to every set of caves in the west of India, though none exist in the eastern side." No gradual development can be here detected: all chaitya halls are alike constructed according to some pre-determined model. And Mr. Fergusson continually points out that the model must have been of wood, for the stone examples extant are decidedly copies of wooden forms. The celebrated Karli cave, which is the most perfect, is, he believes, also the oldest, as old probably as the first century B.C.[2]



Chaitya Cave No. 10, Ajanta.

The wood-cut given above is of Cave No. 10, Ajanta. The date is supposed to be slightly more modern than that of Karli. It has "twenty-nine pillars surrounding the nave, all plain octagons, without bases or capitals, but covered with chunam and painted." The roof still shows markings of the timber framing which once

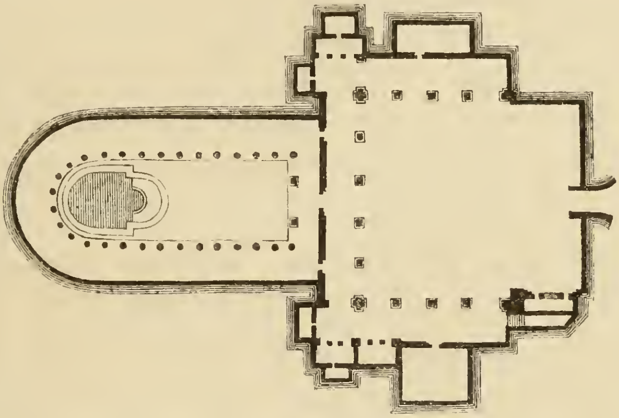
[1] Rock-cut Temples, 1845, p. 6. [2] Ibid. 74 photo. 1864.



Exterior of Chaitya Cave.

adorned it: these, having been actually wood, have perished. In the side aisles they are copied in stone, and still remain.[1]

The ground-plan here presented is not from an Ajanta cave, but is taken from Daniell's view of what is called the Viswakarma Cave, at Ellora. And as all chaitya halls are alike in general



Ground plan of Chaitya Hall.—From Daniell.

arrangement, it will equally serve to explain the whole series,—whether at Ajanta, Ellora, Karli, or elsewhere. "All these caves," Mr. Fergusson says, "consist of an external porch, or music gallery, an internal gallery over the entrance, a centre aisle, ... always at least twice the length of its breadth, which is covered by a roof semicircular in section;" and to this is added a semi-dome, terminating the centre aisle, under which is placed the dagoba or chaitya. As seen in the view and in the plan, a range of pillars surrounds the whole interior, separating what may be called the nave, from the aisles, which are usually covered by a half circle.[2]

The exterior of the Viswakarma, as also the interior, exhibits "flying figures and genii," . . . . . "savouring of Brâhmanism." The great window over the entrance is divided into three compartments, and "the canopies over the side windows . . . . . are so modern, that it seems impossible to carry the date of their

[1] Hist. Archi., vol. ii. p. 489. [2] Fergusson, Rock-cut Temples, p. 6.

execution beyond the seventh or eighth century, while it may be even more modern." [1]

The porch at Viswakarma is wider than the building, and ornamented by pillars which support the gallery above. The interior is lighted by the windows or apertures in this gallery, and the effect is described as peculiarly impressive and imposing. Speaking of Karli, Mr. Fergusson says, "the whole light falls upon the sacred dagoba;" and thus, from the entrance, nothing is seen but the "illuminated shrine" and "beyond illimitable gloom." The external effect of these caves was rendered more imposing by two lofty columns, placed on either side the entrance, where they stand like giant warders. At Karli, one such pillar has vanished, but one is yet standing. It is a plain shaft with thirty-two flutes, and is surmounted by four lions. Such pillars vary in height from thirty to fifty feet. Before quitting the subject of chaitya halls and Buddhist architecture, we must take note of Mr. Fergusson's observations on "sloping jambs." He speaks of a series of caves in Behar (Bengal Presidency). One, called the Karna Chopar, bears an inscription referring it to B.C. 245. Another, named the Lomas Rishi, has a façade in form of an arch, ornamented by a semicircle of sculptured elephants. "The door" of the Lomas Rishi, he says, "like all those of this series, has sloping jambs." And sloping jambs, he observes, are not met with in Egypt nor in Persia, nor in conjunction with the Doric order; but they are characteristic of Etruria and Pelasgia, and are found in company with the honeysuckle border of the Ionic order, but are, in this instance, evidently derived from a wooden form of construction, which has been literally copied.

But Hindu or Brahmanical architecture was merely a passing incident in India; and our work must now be to inquire what forms of building became national, after the banishment of Bud-

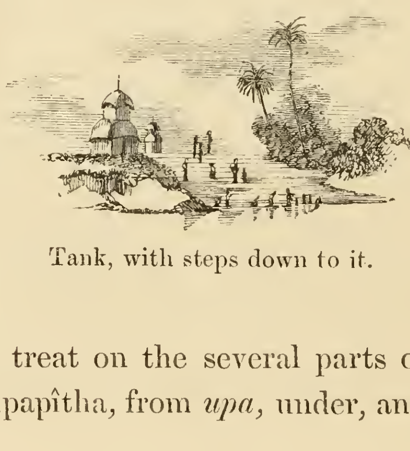
[1] Fergusson, Rock-cut Temples, with seventy-four photographs by Major Gill, pp. 63, 64.

dhists. For this purpose we turn to Sanskrit works, of which the express subject is scientific architecture. Sir William Jones always believed that such works were extant, but none came to light until, in the time of Lord Cornwallis, an accomplished Hindu gentleman, named Râm Râz (born at Tanjore, A.D. 1790), was persuaded by the late Mr. R. Clarke, of the Madras Civil Service, to prepare a treatise on Hindu architecture for the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain. Râm Râz at once sought for material, but encountered far greater difficulties than could have been anticipated. Gradually, fragments from a variety of ancient works upon the subject were obtained; but to understand their meaning was a labour requiring much time and patience. Pandits were ignorant of art, and of all the terms connected therewith; and architects were not only ignorant of Sanskrit, but also of science. At length, he met at Tanjore with a sculptor, well acquainted with practical architecture, and able to interpret its nomenclature. But when this difficulty was removed he found, to his regret, that the "venerable sages" had often been "guided rather by a mistaken ambition, to render themselves reputable by the difficulty and abstruseness of their style, than by an anxiety to make themselves intelligible." The exact age of these works cannot of course be ascertained, but Râm Râz has no hesitation in asserting that they must have been composed in the south, because they are so obviously "the standards," by which "the existing religious structures were reared throughout this part of the peninsula." [1]

The Sanskrit term for works on art, and especially for those on architecture, is Silpa-sâstra; and the best Silpa-sâstra (or treatise) which Râm Râz obtained was entitled "Mânasâra." This work "has great celebrity in the south of India," and "is often consulted by the artists as the highest authority for the solution of contested points in architecture." [2]

[1] Râm Râz, Preface, p. 6. [2] Ibid, p. 6.

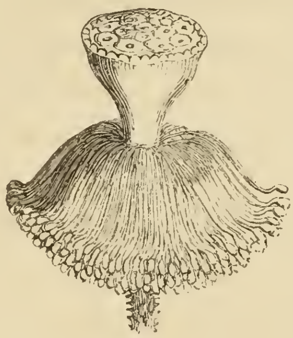
Mânasâra treats of the measures used in building, of the qualifications required in the men employed, of the qualities of the soil on which temples, palaces, and dwelling-houses for the several classes should be erected. He gives directions for constructing a gnomon to determine the several points of the compass, treats of the ground-plans of cities, towns, palaces, and houses; gives a minute description of sacrifices, &c., to be performed on various occasions in the building of temples. He describes various kinds of towns and villages, stating how many streets there should be, and where the chief temple should be placed. And it is worthy of observation, that shrines for rival deities have places assigned them, including temples for Bauddhas and Jainas; and so also, after giving directions for the construction of images of Brahmâ and other gods, "images worshipped by the Bauddhas and Jainas" are mentioned. Each village or town "must have four large gates, one on each side of the enclosing wall," and "as many smaller ones at the several angles." Tanks are not forgotten: in the kind of village named Dandivâ there must be two,—one towards the south-west and one towards the north-east. "The south of India," it is observed, "is famous for the beautiful workmanship of its reservoirs, which are generally very spacious, and completely lined with stone, furnished with steps, and ornamented with pavilions:" much in the fashion of that represented below.



Tank, with steps down to it.

Other chapters treat on the several parts of pillars, as:—the pedestal, named upapîtha, from *upa*, under, and *pîtha*, seat; and

the base, named adhishthâna, from *adhi,* upon, and *sthâ,* to stand. Pedestals are always square, and are placed not only under the base of a pillar or pilaster, but as supports for thrones. Both these and the bases are distinguished by the richness and variety of the mouldings with which they are ornamented. One, called padma, imitates the petals of the lotus flower; it is much used, both singly and "in detached pairs,—one facing the other." [1]



Lotus stamens.

Another moulding, named kapota, is "made in the form of a pigeon's head, from which it takes its name. It is a crowning member of cornices, pedestals, and entablatures. When employed in the latter, it often connects utility with beauty, inasmuch as the beak of the bird is so placed as to serve the purpose of a spout to throw off the water falling on the cornice." [2] Many varieties of pillars are described, the proportions of height to diameter, and of each portion to the whole, being most carefully noted. Some of the examples given are very like the pillars of Tirumal Naik's Choultry, or other celebrated temples, as figured in Fergusson's History of Architecture.

We must not, however, dwell longer on pillars, although it is very interesting to find so much importance attached to their

[1] The capital of Buddhist pillars frequently reminds one of lotus stamens, after the petals have fallen, as represented in Wight's Indian Botany. *See* Lats in Tirhut; Fergusson, ii. 459; Gen. Cunningham's Bhilsa Topes, plate x.; or Fergusson's Tree and Serpent Worship, plates xliv., xlv.

[2] Râm Râz, pp. 22—24.

construction in Sanskrit works, written apparently in the very country most famous for pillared architecture.

Twelve chapters of the treatise called Mânasâra are taken up "with rules respecting the measurements, &c., of as many sorts of vimânas or pyramidal temples." "Temples," it is said further, "consist of the garbhagriha (the womb of the house), the antarâla (the anti-temple), and the ardha-mantapa (the front portico)."[1] We do not apologise for giving these Sanskrit terms, because the towers or pyramids, and porches, which they signify, are of forms peculiar to India; and their Sanskrit names are adopted by Mr. Fergusson, in his invaluable works on these subjects.

Twelve successive chapters, from the 19th to the 28th, contain descriptions of temples surmounted by vimânas or pyramidal towers. The 29th treats of the outer courts of temples. The 31st of gopuras, or lofty gateways leading into temples. The 33rd of sâlâs or halls.[2]

We are conscious that these slight references to Râm Râz do but scanty justice to the thirty-two treatises of which he makes mention, or even to the four works from which he makes quotation; but they are sufficient to establish the fact, that architecture was treated as a sacred science by learned Hindus, who wrote in Sanskrit on the modes of building characteristic of southern India. The Silpa-sâstras make no allusion to chaitya halls, with vaulted roofs and pillared aisles, lighted by apertures above the entrance; but they describe many-storied pyramids surmounting shrines, and temple court-yards entered by lofty gateways, and sculptured columns, and columnar halls,—for all which the architecture of southern India is especially noted. The statement in the Mânasâra is, that a temple must consist of a vimâna (or pyramid), raised over a *garbha-griha* (womb of the house, containing the shrine); to this is attached the *antarâla*,

[1] Râm Râz, p. 48. [2] Ibid. p. 4.

porch, and the *ardha-mantapa,* or detached porch; and it may have in addition a second detached porch or pavilion, called a *mahâ* (great) *mantapa,* supported by hundreds of columns. Walls are ranged around these sacred edifices, each wall being adorned by a specified number of gopuras, and sometimes columned cloisters, for habitation, run along the walls from gate to gate.

Court within court is the fashion of these temples, and within the innermost court the holy shrine or vimâna should tower up; but practically it often happens that the most holy vimâna is the only insignificant object in the group. Some pious worshippers have sought to do honour to an ancient shrine by adding to its enclosures, and by erecting walls and gateways more and more lofty, until the original vimâna which covers the object of worship is architecturally overpowered.

As a most notable exception to such perversion, we have the remarkable temple, popularly called the Great Pagoda at Tanjore. It stands on a base of two stories, which measures 82 ft. each way, and "its pyramidal roof rises through fourteen stories to a height of 180 ft. to 200 ft." . . . . . "As far as can be ascertained, it belongs to the great age of the Chola dynasty, probably the tenth or eleventh century." "It is the finest temple in the south, being almost the only one in which the *vimâna* is the principal object round which subordinate ones are grouped."[1]

The gopuras, or gates, are significant features of southern architecture. "When only one wall surrounded the temple" (or vimâna), "only one gateway was used, directly facing the porch. Where a second enclosure surrounded the first, the outer wall had usually two gateways,—one in front of that of the inner wall, the other exactly opposite, behind the temple. With three enclosures, four gopuras were required for the outer enclosure,—one in the centre of each face; so that a temple, such as that at Seringham, with seven enclosures, ought to have twenty-three

[1] Fergusson, Hist. Archi., vol. ii. pp. 564, 565.

gopuras."[1] But the number is seldom complete. The gopura is always an oblong building, being pierced with an opening on the longer side. It probably resembles the exterior of a Buddhist chaitya hall. One of the tallest of these gate pyramids is "that belonging to the principal temple at Combaconum, which became the capital of the Chola kingdom, after the the temporary abandonment of Tanjore," in the seventeenth century. It is twelve storeys in height, and crowded with sculpture and architectural ornaments, but the "endless repetition of small parts" prevents its being as pleasing as many of the smaller gopuras.

But the most extraordinary buildings connected with southern temples "are the pillared colonnades, or *choultries,* which occupy the space between the various enclosures of the temples. They are of all shapes and sizes, from the little pavilion supported on four pillars up to the magnificent hall numbering a thousand."[1] We may suppose this kind of hall to have originated with the Buddhists, for halls of a thousand pillars frequently appear in Buddhist history; and the remains of a building of this description, erected by the Buddhist King of Ceylon, Dushtagâmini (B.C. 161), may still be seen at Anurâdhapura, in Ceylon. It is called the Loha-prâsâda, or Loha-mahâpaya,—from *loha,* iron, its roof having been constructed of that metal.[2] It had nine storeys, each containing one hundred apartments.

For further details of the numerous and extensive buildings for which the south of India is still distinguished, we may refer to Râm Râz, who gives a ground plan of a wonderful temple at Tirivalur,—and to Mr. Fergusson, who describes an equally remarkable temple at Ramisseram, of which the outer court measures "the length of the river-face of the Parliament houses at Westminster, by twice their depth." The name which Mr. Fergusson adopts for this southern Indian architecture is Dravidian. This name requires explanation. Five kindred languages,

[1] Fergusson, Hist. Archi., vol. ii. p. 568.

[2] Turnour's Mahawanso, xxvii. p. 164.

spoken in the peninsula or Deccan, are observed to be related to each other, but to be distinct in structure from the Sanskrit. These languages are,—the Tamul, the Telugu, the Tuluva, the Malayâlma, and the Canarese.[1] Dr. Caldwell, who has long resided in the country, and is familiar with these languages, as also with the science of philology, recognises them as five varieties of non-Sanskrit or un-Aryan languages, and concludes that, "with the exception of Orissa and those districts of western India and the Deccan, in which the Guzerâthî and the Marâthî are spoken, the whole of the peninsular portion of India, from the Vindhya mountains and the Nerbudda river down to the southern extremity of Cape Comorin, is peopled, and from the earliest periods always has been peopled, by different branches of one and the same race, speaking dialects of one and the same language." This race or people he calls Dravidian.

Mr. Norris fully concurs in this opinion, but further observes a decided relationship between these languages and those of Australia.

Mr. John Hutt, who was long resident in Australia, had simultaneously made the same discovery. And for the truth of these observations, Dr. Rost, of the Royal Asiatic Society of London, may be cited as another independent witness, he having, in 1847, submitted a memoir on the subject to the late Chevalier Bunsen. Dr. Rost considers it "an undeniable fact, that the grammatical skeleton of the Australian, Mongolian, and south Indian languages is essentially the same, and is not only distinct from the Sanskrit type, but from that of the Malay, Polynesian, Indo-Chinese, and sub-Himalayan tongues." With the pre-historic, ethnologic, and archæologic questions which are involved with the linguistic, Dr. Rost declines to meddle, and will not, therefore, help us to determine whether the cairns and cromlechs still made in the Khasya hills of Sylhet, and formerly made

[1] The whole group is often spoken of as the Tamul languages, and the people speaking them as Tamuls.

near the Amarâvatî, on the river Kistnah, and in other parts of southern India, were the work of those who are called Turanians, or whether they must be attributed to some race neither Aryan nor Turanian.

We have next to recognise Dravidian workmanship in the rock-cut temples of Ellora, to the north of Bombay. The Dravidian princes of Chola conquered this district about A.D. 1,000, a fact which accounts for the identity which Mr. Fergusson discovers between the architectural style of some of these celebrated excavations and that of southern India.[1]

Ellora is in the province of Aurungabad, and near to the city of Dowlatabad. In one instance, about a mile to the eastward of the village the side of a great mountain has been excavated, so as to give a level floor 150 ft. wide by 270 ft. in length.[2] In the centre stands the rock-cut temple called Kailâs, similar in form to the Pagoda at Tanjore. It is between 80 and 90 feet high, and is preceded by a large square porch, supported by sixteen columns. In the front of this stands a detached porch, reached by a bridge; and again, in front of the whole, a gateway, connected with the last porch by a rock-cut bridge, and flanked on either side by pillars or deepdans (which word is literally lamp-post).[3] Two elephants, the size of life, are also mentioned; and all around the court are cloisters, with cells. And the whole,—pillars, cloisters, halls, bridges, and vimâna,—are sculptured out of the rock.[4]

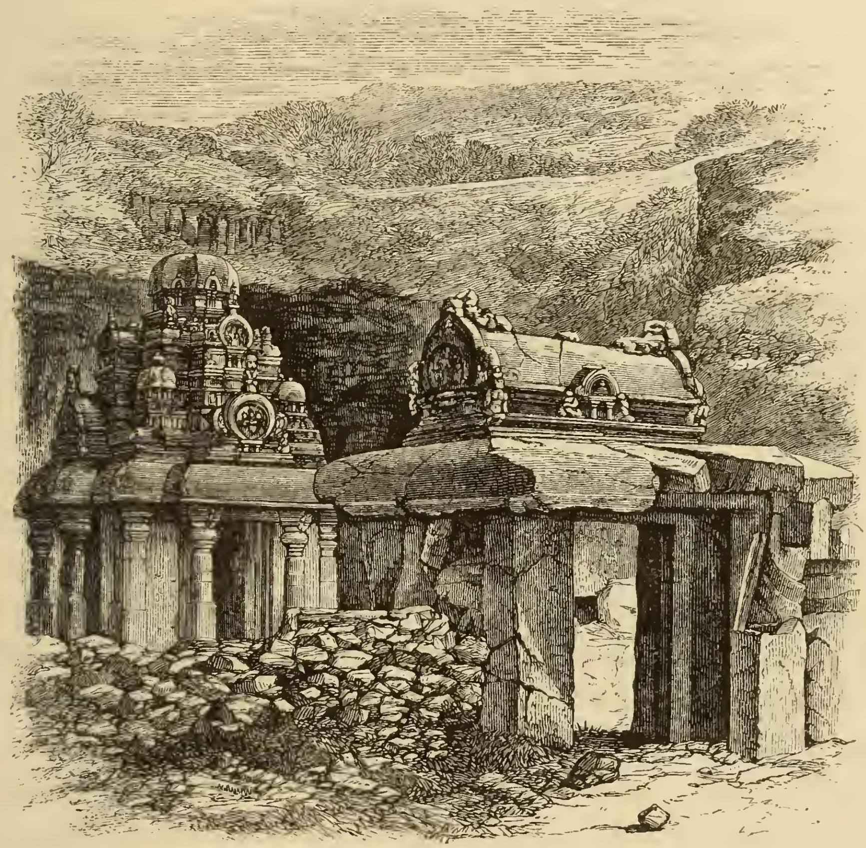
[1] Rock-cut Temples, p. 50.

[2] Fergusson, Hist. Archi., vol. ii. p. 578.

[3] These deepdans bear considerable resemblance to the lion pillars of the Buddhists, and are common in the south of India in front of gateways, and appear to be intended to carry lamps for festivals. They range from thirty to forty, and even fifty feet in height, and are amongst "the most elegant specimens of art in southern India."—Fergusson, Hist. Archi., vol. ii. p. 581.

[4] This adds immensely to the "awe and wonder usually excited by the Kailâs and the other excavations of western India;" but we are told that "considerable misconception exists on the subject of cutting temples in the rock," for in reality it is "considerably easier and less expensive to excavate a temple than to build one. Take, for instance, the Kailâs, the most wonderful of all this class. To excavate the area on which it stands would require the removal of about 100,000 cubic yards of rock, but

The latest caves at Ellora are those named Indra-Sabhâ. They are neither Brahmanical, Buddhist, nor Jaina, but indicate a



Indra-Sabhâ, at Ellora.

transition state, or compromise, between the Brahmanical and Buddhist. The date is about the eleventh or twelfth century of

as the base of the temple is solid, and the superstructure massive, it occupies in round numbers about one half of the excavated area; so that the question is simply this: whether it is easier to chip away 50,000 yards of rock, and shoot it to spoil (to use a railway term) down a hill-side, or to quarry 50,000 yards of stone, remove it, probably a mile at least, to the place where the temple is to be built, and then to raise and set it. The excavating process would probably cost about one-tenth of the other. The sculpture and ornament would be the same in both instances, more especially in India, where buildings are always set up in block, and the carving executed *in situ*. The impression produced on all spectators by these monolithic masses, their unalterable character, and appearance of eternal durability, point to the process as one meriting more attention than it has hitherto received in modern times."—Hist. Archi., vol. ii. p. 581.

our era. In reference to these excavations, of which, owing to the kindness of Mr. Fergusson, we are able to give a woodcut, he says, "there is one singularity which I am unable to explain,—the form of the pseudo-structural temple in the court-yard in front of the Indra-Sabhâ. Like the Kylâs, it seems to have come from the south, whilst the details around belong to the northern types." The details referred to are, that the pillars are short and massive, the ornamentation considerable, and "a species of leaf falling over a vase,"[1] unknown to earlier examples, is here made use of.

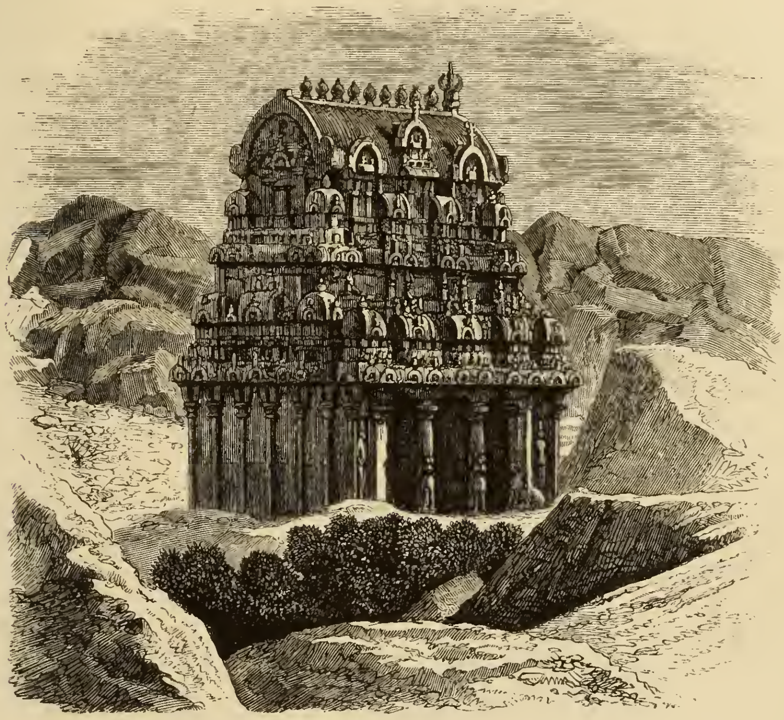
All the vimânas or pyramids of this series have the southern type, and the mantapas or porches are arranged like the southern choultries, also called chaoris. Sometimes the vimâna is placed inside the hall, in the fashion of the Buddhists, who placed their dagoba inside an excavated temple, but on the outside of such sacred buildings as were structural. The well-known cave of Elephanta belongs to the same era as the Brahmanical caves at Ellora, and must, it is conjectured, have been excavated about the tenth century of our era. It is of the form now called chaori. Much time and thought have been bestowed upon this rock-cut cave, for, being easily accessible from Bombay, it early attracted the attention of all who cared for eastern archæology. But the only result to which all this inquiry points is, that Brahmanical excavations are an inconvenient, unmeaning, and wasteful imitation of the earlier Buddhist caves. And it is believed that the motive in constructing them must have been, the hope to win over Buddhists to the worship of Brahmanical gods, by placing them in rock-cut caves,—that being the form of temple to which Buddhists were attached.[2]

Before quitting Dravidian architecture, another remarkable group of temples must be described: we allude to the caves and

[1] Fergusson, Rock-cut Temples, pp. 53, 54.

[2] Ibid, p. 52.

monoliths of Mahâvellipore.[1] Forty[2] miles to the south of Madras, near the town of Sadras, the sea-coast "abounds in large masses of granite rock, which everywhere protrude through the sand, forming hills and other isolated rocks of fantastic



Mahâvellipore

shapes, which seem to have given rise to the idea of carving them"[3] into semblances of sacred edifices. These are described by Southey, in his Curse of Kehama.

> "And on the sandy shore, beside the verge
> Of ocean, here and there a rock-cut fane
> Resisted in its strength the surf and surge
> That on their deep foundations beat in vain."

One structural temple yet remains in this strange, mysterious region, and this one temple tradition assumes to be the last of

[1] The old name appears to have been Maha-Malai-Pur,—City of the Great Hill.—Illus. H. A., pp. 57, 503.

[2] Hamilton, Gazetteer, vol. ii. p. 485.

[3] Fergusson, Illus. H. A., pp. 57, 58.

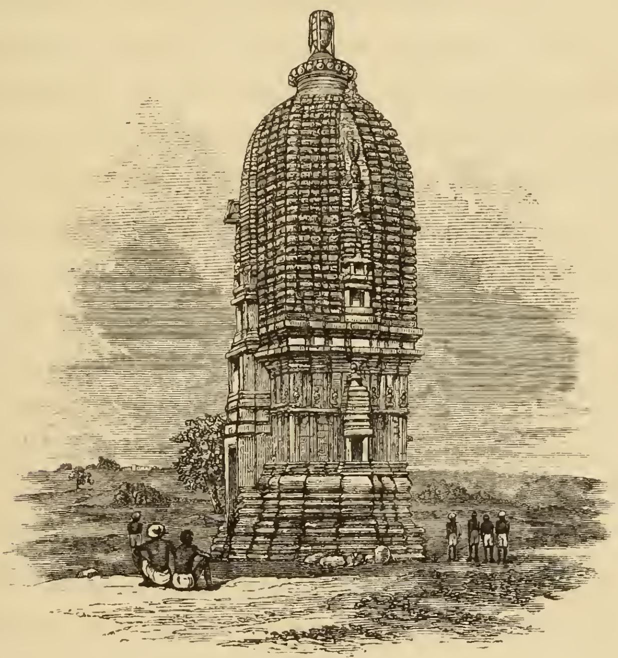
seven pagodas for which Mahâvellipore was once renowned. It stands upon a rock which actually juts into the sea, giving it the character of a land-mark for vessels passing up and down the coast of the Carnatic. The dimensions of the larger building, or vimâna, are not more than thirty feet square at the base, and about sixty feet in height; but its appearance is peculiarly grand and imposing, from the fact that with its connected porch, or mantapa, it stands perfectly alone.

The caves in the hill above are somewhat degenerate imitations of Buddhist caves in western India, which have already been described; but the five monoliths which stand up from the sandy shore, about a mile from the hill, require strict attention. Locally, they are called raths; they are unfinished, as is all the work at Mahâvellipore, but their general form is fully indicated, and to this Mr. Fergusson continually refers; for although the raths are not the workmanship of Buddhists, they occur in a country which had long been occupied by Buddhists, and are believed to exhibit the external appearance of the vihâras and chaityas, of which interiors only are extant at Karli and Ajanta. The entire group of the raths forms one of the most interesting subjects of Mr. Fergusson's Rock-cut Temples. "The view is taken looking towards the sea, from which the full moon is rising, while the setting sun still tinges the buildings."

Mr. Fergusson's second style of Hindu architecture is the northern, which he also calls Bengali. Orissa is famous throughout the world for temples and cities exhibiting this style; and if we took the old sea-voyage to Calcutta, these would probably be the first objects we should see in India as we looked eagerly westward on entering the Bay of Bengal. It is hardly necessary to explain that Orissa is a province adjoining Bengal to the south. Formerly it had considerable extent, but is now comprehended within the British district of Cuttack.[1] Here, on the sandy

[1] Hamilton's E. I. Gazetteer, vol. ii. p. 346.

shore of Puri, may be seen the far-famed shrine of Juggernath; and at Kanaruc, also on the shores of Orissa, are the ruins of what is called the Black Pagoda, whilst a little further inland will be found the numerous temples and deserted city of Bobaneswar. Orissa may be called the head quarters of this style of architecture; for here the temples are large, lofty, and rich in carving; whereas, in other parts of India, examples are few, scattered, and found usually in the rocky defiles or secluded



Vimâna, at Barakpur.

valleys of the Damuda and Mahanuddee rivers, or in the hilly country of the south-west around Dharwar. No temple in this style has yet been found in the plains of Bengal.[1]

The chief characteristic of the northern Hindu style is its tall tower or vimâna, uninterrupted by stories or pillars. This fashion is essentially different from any of those figured in the work of Râm Râz, and is not apparently alluded to in the twelve chapters

[1] Fergusson, Hist. Archi., vol. ii. p. 585.

which are devoted by Mânasâra to vimânas. One may call it a pyramid, expanded at the base and rounded at the top. From one end to the other it is ribbed and adorned with bead-like carving, which reminds one of seeds of Indian corn on a corn-cob. The origin of these pyramids is more removed from sight than even that of the so-called Dravidian pagodas, for these one-storied cylinders are in no way copied from Buddhist temples. Mr. Fergusson thinks the form must have been invented in the plains, where bricks would probably be the ordinary building material, and this the only fashion by which a roof of bricks could be accomplished by a people unable to turn an arch.[1] He is inclined to think that this type of architecture preceded Buddhism, was driven to the hills while Buddhism was in the ascendancy, and reappeared in the seventh and eighth centuries, after the rival religion had been banished to distant countries.

The loftiest as well as the oldest vimâna in Orissa, is that of the Great Temple at Bobaneswar. It was built by a king named Lelat Indra Kesari, and finished A.D. 657. It "stands on a base about 60 ft. square, and rises to the height of about 180 ft." In front of the vimâna there is a mantapa, or porch, which also is 60 ft. square, in plan, but which "rises only to about two-thirds of the height of the great tower." The impression made by a visit to Bobaneswar is thus described. "There are many temples in India more elegant in their details, and more elaborately ornamented; but no one that I know of is more imposing in effect, or conveys more clearly the idea of solid and lasting grandeur, than this; and as it stands surrounded by an immense number of smaller and more modern temples, it forms the worthy centre of an architectural panorama, unequalled, at least, in Hindostan. It is also a fact that there are more ancient temples in this single deserted city of Bobaneswar than in all the cities of northern India put together."

[1] Fergusson, Hist. Archi., vol. ii., p. 588.

[2] Fergusson, Illustr. of Hindu Architecture, p. 24.

Of the temple of Juggernath, at Puri, we need say but little. It is somewhat imposing, owing to its size, but it only dates from A.D. 1198, and it is far inferior, in point of art, to the older examples.

The temple at Kanaruc, in Orissa, known as the Black Pagoda, seems to have obtained its name from the Hindu custom of calling deserted or desecrated religious edifices *black, kâlî.* Its colour is far from black, it being built of a warm-coloured sand-stone. Its date is later even than that of Jagannâth—begun A.D. 1236, finished 1241; but it is nevertheless "one of the very best specimens of Indian architecture as an exterior." Some very sacred legend or strong devotional motive could alone account for the king, Narsingh Deo, having erected such a building on a wide plain of marsh and morass, far away from any city, and almost from any habitable spot. About two hundred years ago the tower or vimâna fell,[1] leaving a fragment, which rises to a height of 150 ft. The marshy foundation appears to have been unable to support so great a mass, and the priests, instead of attempting to repair the ruin, removed themselves and their worship to the more healthy site of Jagannâth.

The mantapa, or porch, in front of the broken tower is in a good state of preservation, and as an exterior has considerable grandeur. It measures sixty feet from angle to angle of its base; its whole height is also about sixty feet; the height of the wall is thirty feet, divided horizontally into four compartments,—the upper one bearing a frieze or cornice of extraordinary beauty. The roof is likewise divided into four compartments, composed of six projecting cornices separated by bands, which are sculptured the size of life; while the faces of the twelve cornices "are covered by bassi-relievi of processions, hunting and battle scenes, and representations of all the occupations and amusements of life." Of the sculpture which covers the walls, as distinguished from

[1] The fragment also fell in the year 1866, during a thunder-storm; and thus was lost a land-mark which had guided mariners for upwards of two centuries.

the roof, Mr. Fergusson says it is "bad in design and execution," . . . . . and also in subject "impossible to describe, and which it would be difficult for even a very depraved European imagination to conceive." [1] Buddhist and Jain sculpture he distinguishes as "wholly free from such foulness." [1]

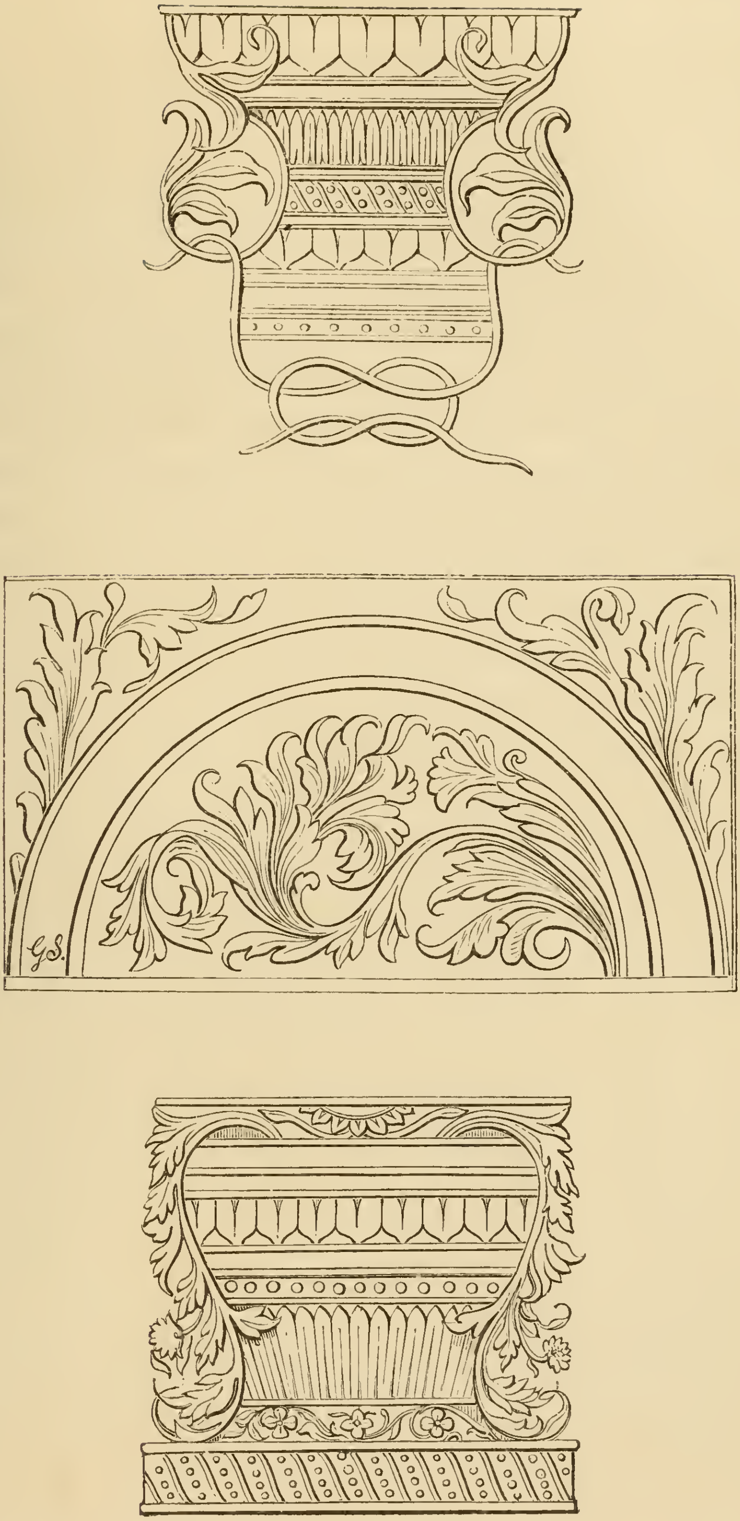
On the remaining styles of Hindu architecture treated of by Mr. Fergusson, we must touch but lightly, as they would lead us beyond our limits. Some groups of buildings in Rajputana may, however, be here described. They were first discovered by Colonel Tod, and spoken of in vol. ii. of his "Rajasthan." "The grand temple of Barolli," he says, "is dedicated to Siva. It stands in an area of 250 yards square, enclosed by a wall built of unshaped stones, without cement. Beyond this wall are groves of majestic trees, with many smaller shrines and sacred fountains. The first object that struck my notice before entering the area was a pillar, erect on the earth, with a hooded snake sculptured around it." Colonel Tod speaks of the "unrivalled taste and beauty" displayed, and of this, the numerous drawings which he had made upon the spot enable us to judge. The vimâna is in the northern style, and may be seen in Fergusson's



Sculptured Scroll, from Chittore.

beautiful "Illustrations of Hindu Architecture." The pillars of the interior of this, and of a similar temple at Chittore, might,

[1] Fergusson, Illust. of Hindu Architecture, p. 28.



Sculptured ornaments on a pillar, at Chittore.

we think, have been constructed by a student of Mânasâra's Silpa-sâstra; pedestal, base, shaft, capital, pediment, and ornamentation, being all in conformity with his directions. The leaf-scroll here figured is from a square pillar at Chittore, in a temple of which the sculptured decoration is in some parts identical with that of Barolli. It occurs about the centre of the shaft.

A common arrangement of these sculptured ornaments is one above another, on the shaft of a pillar, the squarest and heaviest form being the lowest. Those here figured afford examples of the "vase and falling leaf," mentioned by Râm Râz, but of which we are not aware that there is any example in southern India. At Ajanta Mr. Fergusson observes a pillar in the verandah of cave No. 24, the capital of which has the "falling-leaf ornament, afterwards much used at Delhi and elsewhere," and which is "almost universal at Ellora." Some approach to this form is made in the choultrie to chaitya No. 19, at Ajanta, where the pillars in front are changed from the circular to the square, by a rather clumsy introduction of foliage hanging over the angles.

Some pillars at Barolli and Chittore are adorned with flowers of natural form, with long stalks and well-defined leaves, stretching up from base to pediment, elegant in outline and finished in detail. The ceilings likewise exhibit beautiful designs, perfectly well executed.[1]

The external appearance of the temples at Barolli is also remarkable for elegance, but in size these North-west buildings are far inferior to those of Orissa. The largest temple at Barolli has a vimâna fifty-eight feet in height of the pyramidal form, characteristic of the Hindu or Brahmanical style, but not noticed in the Silpa-Sâstras. The principal doorway is destroyed; but the doorway, figured as a heading to our chapter on "Fiction," gives, probably, the same arrangement. Our etching is from one of the external niches. Within the frame were placed sculptured

[1] Tod's Rajasthan, vol. ii. p. 704.

images of gods, such as the Siva with eight arms, figured in our chapter on "Religious Sects," p. 261.

Of the three-headed Siva, of which there is a beautiful drawing in Colonel Tod's Portfolio of Drawings, bequeathed to the Royal Asiatic Society, a woodcut is here presented. A head, with pleasing expression, is three times repeated. The third eye, or eye of reflection, characteristic of Siva, is conspicuous; and serpents are coiled around the neck and arms.

Colonel Tod speaks of yet another niche, in which Siva is represented with his wife Parbutty (or Pârvatî): he standing upon the tortoise, with serpents twined around; she standing on the lotus, wearing ear-rings made of conch-shells.



Sculpture from temple at Barolli.—Tod's Rajasthan.

Another representation, given by Tod, is a trimurti, the same head three times repeated; the eye in the forehead very distinct, and serpents coiled around the neck and arms.

Many of the figures sculptured at Barolli within or around external niches, appear to be as remarkable for beauty as the internal decorations. In illustration of this, we would refer to what we have called a "nymph," and with which the Vikramorvasî, amongst the "dramas" of this work is headed. This elegant

little figure stands at Barolli, beside a gate-post, and appears to play the part of attendant to the gods or goddesses within.

Of Jaina architecture Mr. Fergusson gives beautiful examples of many-columned edifices, crowned by lofty central domes, —the attraction of these graceful forms being heightened by the charming scenery of the Aravalli hills. But we must not treat here of Jainism. It is a religious variety of Buddhism, and although no Buddha is recognised, its tenets must be studied in connection with Buddhism. Many Rajputs are Jains, and some Jains have given up the worship of their twenty-four saints, or Tîrthankars, for the worship of Siva, or Vishnu.

Another architectural complication has arisen since the Mohammedans became well-established in India. Mohammedan forms became modified by Hindu builders, and Hindu forms received an influence from the florid taste of the Mohammedans. Mr. Fergusson says, in speaking of bracket pillars, that Mohammedans first learned this fashion from Hindus, and after they had enriched and expanded the form, the Hindus adopted the Mohammedan improvements, and achieved the beautiful Benares balcony, of which we have placed a wood-cut at the commencement of this chapter.

In the foregoing pages but little has been said of ethnography, or of the relation of architecture to ethnography. These subjects are occupying the attention of acute thinkers and observers; and whilst new views and new facts are daily being brought to light, it seems premature to adopt or endorse theories which, however brilliant, are put forward rather as tentative than as final. Possibly all proposed divisions of race are provisional; and for some excellent thoughts on the constitution of "race," we would refer to remarks by Mr. Edwin Norris, in his edition of Mr. Pritchard's large work. With this protest, we will state a few points in these attractive theories.

1. The Rishis, Gurus, grammarians, Naiyâyikas, and poets of

ancient Sanskrit literature, were men of brilliant intellect, who poured forth their thoughts in eloquent speech, and cared but little to express themselves in brick and stone. These men we claim as of kindred race with ourselves, the Greeks, the Persians, &c.

2. The amazing architecture of India is, on the other hand, attributed to people who did not enter India with the Brahmanical Hindus, and who have languages not allied with Sanskrit.

The first-mentioned people, eloquent in speech, are called Aryans. The second-mentioned, conspicuous for power in building, are named Turanian. This distinction is not only ingenious, but as regards the scholars of India's classical period and the successful adventurers of her later periods, seems likely to be established. But it would not follow that Aryans never, under any circumstances, could build, or that Turanians, at all times and in all places, have evinced a genius for architecture. Races amalgamate and learn of one another, some divisions becoming accomplished whilst others wander off and degenerate, or it may be, remain in aboriginal rudeness. This may explain the ascribed relationship of the inhabitants of Australia to the Dravidians of southern India. Dravidians were accomplished people, with language and literature, and well-established kingdoms, covered with fine buildings. But the structure of their language convicts them of being akin to the aboriginal Australians. Therefore, Dravidians being Turanians, so also are the aborigines of Australia. But this by no means exhausts the subject; for, beside the intellectual Sanskrit speakers, and the lively, active temple builders, there were people in ancient India who made hatchets and knives of quartz, and people who split granite by the aid of water, fire, and wedges; and people who raised cromlechs in memory of the dead: and it has to be determined whether these people, or peoples, also were Turanian. Professor Huxley finds physiological affinity between—1st, the aborigines of southern India, 2nd, the aborigines of Australia, and 3rd, the aborigines

on the Nile, or the ancient Egyptians; and he calls them collectively, not Turanians, but Australoids. But on other grounds we found the Australians ranked as Turanian; and with regard to the Egyptians, Mr. Fergusson recognises architectural affinity between ancient Egyptian temples and those of the Dravidians. It would seem, therefore, as if the inhabitants of southern India, and of Australia, and of the valley of the Nile, must all have been of one race, although to us, who see them at various stages of incipient cultivation, they appear as unlike as are kangaroo and dodo to Southdowns and turkeys.

END OF VOL. I.

LONDON: LEWIS & SON, PRINTERS, SWAN BUILDINGS, MOORGATE STREET.

O